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**Complex Benefactive Constructions:  
a Comparative Study**

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### Zásady pro vypracování:

This thesis deals with syntactic, lexical and pragmatic properties of Benefactive Constructions. These structures may be found across all languages, typically divided into two groups. The former involves double object constructions with single verb predicates (commonly found in head-initial languages), the latter involves Verbs of Giving used together with an additional lexical verb in complex verb predicates (structures typical for Japanese and Korean).

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## **Abstract**

This thesis deals with syntactic, lexical and pragmatic properties of Benefactive Constructions. These structures may be found across all languages, typically divided into two groups. The former involves double object constructions with single verb predicates (commonly found in head-initial languages), the latter involves Verbs of Giving used together with an additional lexical verb in complex verb predicates (structures typical for Japanese and Korean).

The objective of this thesis is to first distinguish these structures based on syntactic and lexical properties. A closer look is taken on Benefactive Constructions found in head-initial languages with TO-Datives and FOR-datives structures. Secondly, we will focus on the Japanese and Korean, after which we propose a unifying cross-linguistic theory of Benefactive Constructions.

Attention is also paid to pragmatic properties of Verbs of Giving and Receiving which are used to form Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions. We analyze the relationship between Semantic Roles in these verbal complexes and indicate what type of restrictions they impose on Indirect Objects. Lastly, the Japanese *V-te V* found in the Benefactive Constructions will be discussed from a syntactic point of view.

## **Key words**

Benefactive Constructions, Verbs of Giving, Verbs of Receiving, Beneficiary, Indirect Object, Complex Verbal Constructions, TO-Datives, FOR-Datives

## **Anotace**

Tato práce se zabývá syntaktickými a lexikálními prvky tzv. benefaktivních konstrukcí. Tyto struktury lze nalézt ve všech jazycích, obvykle jsou rozděleny do dvou skupin. První typ zahrnuje jedno lexikální sloveso (např. u angličtiny,). Druhý typ vyžaduje použití slovesa dávání spolu s jedním dalším lexikálním slovesem (např. u japonštiny nebo korejštiny).

Cílem práce je tyto struktury nejprve rozeznat na základě jejich syntaktických a lexikálních vlastností. Práce se dále podrobněji zaměřuje na druhou skupinu typů konstrukcí, zejména na japonské a korejské komplexní verbální benefaktivní konstrukce. Pozornost je věnována vztahu mezi sémantickými rolemi v tomto verbálním komplexu. Práce se zaměřuje i na omezení a pravidla, které tyto vztahy vytvářejí vůči nepřímým předmětům. Posléze zjišťujeme, že japonština má dva odlišné typy benefaktivních konstrukcí. Tyto konstrukce je nutné navzájem odlišovat.

## **Klíčová slova**

benefaktivní konstrukce, slovesa dávání, příjemce, nepřímý předmět, komplexní verbální konstrukce, TO-dativy, FOR-dativy

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## Abbreviations and Symbols Used

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative marker
COMP	Complementizer
CVBC	Complex Verb Benefactive Construction
DAT	dative marker
DIR	direction
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense marker
GEN	genitive marker
HON	honorific marker
IMP	imperative
L	linker
LOC	location
NEG	negation marker
NOM	nominative marker
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense marker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive marker
PRES	present tense marker
PROG	progressive aspect
SG	singular
SVBC	Single Verb Benefactive Construction
TE	Japanese <i>-te</i> form
TOP	topic marker
V	verb
V1	first verb
V2	second verb

## Transcription approach

The following types of transcriptions (romanization) are used in this work. Other linguistic works may differ in terms of using transcription standards. This work applies such standards that it is able to do two tasks, depict the phonetic features and express the syntactic differences.

**Korean:** “Revised Romanization of Hangeul”

**Japanese:** “Hepburn romanization”

# 1 Introduction

In the history of generative grammar, various linguistic works have paid attention to syntactic constructions involving a certain act of giving. Initial works focus on the English verb *give* and the type of constructions it can generate. An example of such approach is *Give: A Cognitive Linguistic Study*, written by Newman (1996) - a monograph dedicated to the research on *give* itself. According to Newman “...there is a place for in-depth research into the manifestations of GIVE within a particular language. Such research would complement the present study which has not attempted to document all the facts from any one language... Such studies would show the range of “work” which may be done by GIVE<sup>1</sup> morphemes in different languages” (1996, 266).

What is essential to know is that every language has a way of expressing an act of giving. These acts and their actual meanings may be conveyed via different linguistic structures. Newman’s later work *The Linguistics of Giving* (1998), consisting of work written by twelve different linguists, provides an analysis of various types of GIVE in different languages. In other words, it provides a cross-linguistic analysis of Verbs of Giving with respect to their syntactic or lexical properties.

According to Fillmore’s classic study from 1963, in English syntax, there are two different “Indirect Object Transformations”. In the recent writings, linguists would refer to such phenomenon by a term “dative alternations”. The first one to be called “FOR-Dative alternation,” the second as “TO-Dative alternation”.

On the other hand, in certain head-final languages, Verbs of Giving may be combined together with other lexical verbs in order to form Complex Verbal Predicates with Beneficiary Noun Phrases taking the grammatical relation of Indirect Objects. These structures may involve a presence of verbs with different thematic roles yet forming

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<sup>1</sup> Newman uses a capitalized “GIVE” in his work. In this work, we prefer to use term “Verbs of Giving” in order to refer to cross-linguistic variants of GIVE.

grammatical verbal complexes which are being interpreted as single lexical events. Examples of such languages are Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Thai.

Despite the fact that such Benefactive Constructions are, from a syntactic perspective, very complex, verbs that can express an act of “giving” seem to be some of the first verbs being acquired by children learning English (Benedict 1979, Tomasello 1998). It is probably the very basic concept of giving that is crucial for humanity. It is a universal need to be able to express relationships between different parties, such as Benefactor (“giver”), Theme (“thing given”), and Beneficiary (“recipient”).

According to Newman’s preface to *The Linguistics of Giving* (1998), a typical GIVE verb needs to meet the following conditions:

(1) A typical GIVE

(Newman 1998)

- *there are three crucial entities (a GIVER, the THING transferred, and a RECIPIENT)*
- *there is an interaction between the GIVER and the THING*
- *there is an interaction between the RECIPIENT and the THING*
- *there is motion of the THING from the GIVER to the RECIPIENT*
- *there is a change in the control over the THING, passing from the GIVER to the RECIPIENT*
- *in the most typical kind of giving, the hands of the GIVER and the RECIPIENT are both involved*
- *the giving is done intentionally*

In (1), you may find a complete list of semantic characteristics provided by Newman (1998). The goal of this study is to offer a formal account for different types of Benefactive Constructions which involve different types of verbs.

This study is divided into separate sections, providing an in-depth analysis on the following topics:

- the definition of Benefactive Constructions together with the parties (semantic roles) that need to be involved in such complex predicates;

- a cross-linguistic comparison of Benefactive Constructions, analyzing the following structures:
  - Single Verb Benefactive Constructions
  - Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions
  - TO-Dative Structures
  - FOR-Dative Structures
  
- syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic properties of Verbs of Giving in Japanese and Korean;
  
- syntactic and lexical differentiation of the two types of *V-te* V structures in Japanese.

## 2 Benefactive Constructions

### 2.1 Two Types of Benefactive Constructions

A cross-linguistic representation of Benefactive Constructions in double object constructions, has been a very frequent subject of various debates throughout the entire history of generative grammar. In general, Benefactive Constructions are syntactic structures consisting of two internal arguments, whereas one of them has a semantic role of Beneficiary, typically in the sentence function or grammatical relation of Indirect Object. In this structure, the Beneficiary receives benefit, typically a Theme, from the action which was performed by the Agent.

The earliest works began with an analysis of these structures in English and other head-initial languages. It was Fillmore's (1965) study, in which, while discussing various linguistic transformation rules, he revealed an existence of the two different "Indirect Object Transformations" in English syntax. In the recent writings, linguists would refer to such phenomenon by a term "dative alternations". The first one to be called **FOR-Dative** alternation, the second as **TO-Dative** alternation (Emonds and Ostler 2006).

Meanwhile, other linguists focusing on some of the head-final languages such as Japanese and Korean, also became aware of the existence of two distinct Benefactive Constructions among these languages (Shibatani 1994, Bodomo 2003). In these studies, we encounter a) single verb constructions, consisting of a single verb with two adjacent Objects in the same verb phrase; b) complex verb constructions, which involve verbal complex V-V accompanied by two Objects in the same verb phrase. The former to be called Single Verb Benefactive Construction (SVBC), the latter to be called Complex Verb Benefactive Construction (CVBC).

This chapter offers a cross-linguistic comparative approach towards these two types of Benefactive Constructions. Firstly, a closer look will be taken at two types of Benefactive Constructions in English. After that, we will analyze Benefactive

Constructions which Japanese and Korean make use of, and how these head-final languages differ from the head-initial ones.

## 2.1.1 Head-Initial Languages

### 2.1.1.1 TO-Datives

In English, and also other head-initial languages, there are two different types of double object constructions that involve usage of Indirect Objects with the Dative case. According to Fillmore (1963), the first one is to be called “First Indirect Object Transformation”.

#### (1) TO-Dative Transformation

- a. *John gave the books to Mary.*
- b. *John gave Mary the books.*

Fillmore notices that TO is always “deleted and object nominals are transposed” (1963). In the recent writings, this structure is usually referred to as a **TO-Dative** transformation (Emonds and Ostler 2006). According to Emonds and Ostler (2006), structures in (1) appear cross linguistically, while following a fixed word-order. The transformation structure of TO-Dative in (1a) appears in (1b). (1b) “consist of two noun phrase objects of the verb, the other being the direct object” (Emonds and Ostler 2006:1). In other words, the structure in (1b) refers to a double object construction in which Beneficiary appears in immediate post-verbal position, therefore the action of Agent is directed towards the Beneficiary. In semantic terms, the structure in (1a) describes a situation when Agent launches the Theme on a path, headed by directional *to*, with the intention of the Theme ending up with the Beneficiary (Taylor 1997).

Regarding the types of verbs that can be used to generate TO-Dative constructions, the scope of possible verbs is restricted to so-called “transfer verbs”. Besides the verb *give* which is indicated in (1), some of the other possible transfer verbs (e.g.

*send, offer, promise, assign, read, or write*) forming such TO-Dative constructions are listed below in (2).

(2)

- a. *Stacey sent a present to everyone in the room.*
- b. *Stacey sent everyone in the room a present.*
  
- c. *They offered a new car to Jake.*
- d. *They offered Jake a new car.*
  
- e. *The boss promised a salary increase to John.*
- f. *The boss promised John a salary increase.*
  
- g. *The company assigned an apartment to me.*
- h. *The company assigned me an apartment.*
  
- i. *His mum read a book to him.*
- j. *His mum read him a book.*
  
- k. *Tami wrote a letter to her son.*
- l. *Tami wrote her son a letter.*

What Fillmore also points out is that Indirect Objects in TO-Datives structures can be passivized and therefore shifted to Subject position. In order to prove this argument accurate, we will need to passivize examples in (1) and (2).

(3)

- a. *Mary was given the books (by John).*
- b. *Everyone in the room was sent a present (by Stacey).*
- c. *Jake was offered a new car (by them).*
- d. *John was promised a salary increase (by the boss).*
- e. *I was assigned an apartment (by the company).*
- f. *He was read a book (by his mum).*
- g. *Her son was written a letter (by Tami).*

In (3), we can see that passivization of Indirect Objects generated grammatical structures. Having discussed TO-Datives in English, let's take a look at the second type of Benefactive Constructions described by Fillmore – FOR-Datives.



### 2.1.1.2 FOR-Datives

The second type of Benefactive Constructions is called “Second Indirect Object Transformation” (Fillmore 1963), also recently to be referred to as **FOR-Dative** transformation (Emonds and Ostler 2006). According to Fillmore, the following rule describes this syntactic transformation: “Deletes FOR and transposes the object nominals in the string” (1963:219).

#### (4) FOR-Dative Transformation

- a. *I built that house for Jane.*
- b. *I built Jane that house.*

The (4a) refers to a structure where “an indirect object appears as the object of a preposition” (Emonds and Ostler 2006:1). Same as with TO-Datives, (4b) consists of two noun phrase objects of the verb, the other being the direct object” (Emonds and Ostler 2006:1).

Typically, verbs with semantic meaning of “preparation” or “creation” are used to form these FOR-Dative constructions. Some such English verbs would be *build, make, bake, paint, select, kindle* or *butter*. Benefactive Constructions created by the usage of some of these verbs can be found in (5).

#### (5)

- a. *Chinese engineers made a new type of semiconductor for the government.*
- b. *Chinese engineers made the government a new type of semiconductor.*
  
- c. *Teo baked a cake for everyone.*
- d. *Teo baked everyone a cake.*
  
- e. *Our neighbors painted a front door for their parents.*
- f. *Our neighbors painted their parents a front door.*
  
- g. *My daughter buttered a toast for me.*
- h. *My daughter buttered me a toast.*

- i. *Neil kindled a fire for his team members.*
- j. *Neil kindled his team members a fire.*

Interestingly, what Fillmore also points out is that, when compared to TO-Datives, Indirect Objects in FOR-Dative structures **cannot** be passivized. Let's try to passivize some examples of FOR-Datives in order to highlight the difference with TO-Datives.

(6)

- a. *\*The government was made a new type of semiconductor (by Chinese engineers)*
- b. *\*Everyone was baked a cake (by Teo).*
- c. *\*Their parents were painted a front door (by our neighbors).*
- d. *\*I was buttered a toast (by my daughter).*
- e. *\*His team members were kindled a fire (by Neil).*

The resulting ungrammaticality of passivization done on Indirect Objects inside of FOR-Datives constructions in (6), signals a syntactic difference between TO-Dative and FOR-Dative Constructions. In other words, despite the fact that phonetic form of TO-Dative and FOR-Dative might be identical, their logical form is different.

### **2.1.1.3 Head-Initial Languages: Conclusion**

In the previous sections, TO-Dative and FOR-Dative alternations as two different types of Benefactive Constructions have been analyzed in detail in the English examples. These structures are also typical for other head-initial languages, such as Indonesian (Chung, 1976), Chichewa (Baker, 1988).

The following chapter examines Japanese and Korean types of Benefactive Constructions that these languages allow. A topic whether TO-datives and FOR-datives appear in Japanese and Korean will be also discussed.

## **2.1.2 Head-Final Languages**

### **2.1.2.1 Single Verb Benefactive Construction (TO-Datives)**

Korean, same as Japanese, is a head-final (the head follows its complements) language with SOV word order. The following examples depict the fact that the head follows its complements.

(7)

a. *sagwa-leul meok-ta.* (Korean)  
 apple-ACC eat-PRES  
 'to eat an apple'  
 [TP [VP [DP *sagwa-leul*] [V *meok*]] [T *ta*]]

b. *ringo-wo tabe-ru* (Japanese)  
 apple-ACC eat-PRES  
 'to eat an apple'  
 [TP [VP [DP *ringo-wo*] [V *tabe*]] [T *ru*]]

Similarly, as with the English TO-Datives, both Japanese and Korean are able to form Benefactive Constructions consisting of a single verb with two internal arguments, whereas one of them is the Indirect Object. The verbs that can be used to build these constructions belong to a group of "transfer verbs".

(8) Japanese TO-Datives

- |    |   |                                       |                               |
|----|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Megumi-ga Kohei-ni</i><br>Megumi-NOM Kohei-DAT<br>'Megumi sent Kohei the money'    | <i>kane-wo</i><br>money-ACC           | <i>okut-ta.</i><br>send-PAST  |
| b. | <i>Megumi-ga Kohei-ni</i><br>Megumi-NOM Kohei-DAT<br>'Megumi read Kohei that passage' | <i>sono ku-wo</i><br>that passage-ACC | <i>yon-da.</i><br>read-PAST   |
| c. | <i>Megumi-ga Kohei-ni</i><br>Megumi-NOM Kohei-DAT<br>'Megumi wrote Kohei a letter'    | <i>tegami-wo</i><br>letter-ACC        | <i>kai-ta.</i><br>write-PAST  |
| d. | <i>Megumi-ga Kohei-ni</i><br>Megumi-NOM Kohei-DAT<br>'Megumi told Kohei the secret'   | <i>himitsu-wo</i><br>secret-ACC       | <i>oshie-ta.</i><br>tell-PAST |

- e. *Megumi-ga Kohei-ni messeji-wo mise-ta.*  
 Megumi-NOM Kohei-DAT message-ACC show-PAST  
 'Megumi showed Kohei the message'

(9) Korean TO-Datives

- a. *Jinsu-ga Eunjin-egye don-eul bo-naetta.*  
 Jinsu-NOM Eunjin-DAT money-ACC send-PAST  
 'Jinsu sent Eunjin the money'
- b. *Jinsu-ga Eunjin-egye chaeg-eul ilg-eossta.*  
 Jinsu-NOM Eunjin-DAT book-ACC read-PAST  
 'Jinsu read Eunjin the book'
- c. *Jinsu-ga Eunjin-egye pyeonji-leul ss-eossta.*  
 Jinsu-NOM Eunjin-DAT letter-ACC write-PAST  
 'Jinsu wrote Eunjin a letter'
- d. *Jinsu-ga Eunjin-egye mesiji-leul bo-yeossta.*  
 Jinsu-NOM Eunjin-DAT message-ACC show-PAST  
 'Jinsu showed Eunjin a message'

The Japanese examples in (8) and Korean examples in (9) represent a TO-Dative Benefactive Constructions constructed by various types of transfer verbs. In (8a), we can see a Japanese clause with a single ditransitive verb predicate which assigns its thematic roles to two internal arguments, a Direct Object (Theme) *kane* 'money' marked with an Accusative marker *wo* and Indirect Object (Beneficiary) *Kohei* marked with a Dative marker *ni*. A transfer verb *okuru* 'send' is used to form this single verb predicate. In the examples (8b-8e), different types of transfer verbs are used to construct TO-Dative structures (e.g. *yomu* 'read', *kau* 'buy', *oshieru* 'tell', *miseru* 'show').

In (9a), same as with the TO-Dative structures in Japanese, we can see a Korean clause with a single ditransitive verb predicate which assigns its thematic roles to two internal arguments, a Direct Object (Theme) *don* 'money' marked with an Accusative marker *wo* and Indirect Object (Beneficiary) *Eunjin* marked with a Dative marker *ni*. A transfer verb *bonaeda* 'send' is used to form single verb predicate. In

the examples (9b-9d), different types of transfer verbs are used to construct TO-Dative structures (e.g. *ilgda* ‘read’, *sada* ‘buy’, *boida* ‘show’).

In conclusion, in both types of languages, head-initial languages like English and head-final languages like Korean or Japanese, one may find examples of Benefactive Constructions with TO-Datives which are constructed by a single transfer verb predicate with two internal arguments (Direct and Indirect object). For simplicity, we will refer to these structures as **Single Verb Benefactive Constructions (SVBC)**.

### 2.1.2.2 Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions (FOR-Datives)

This section takes a look at the concept of **FOR-Datives** found in English and other head-initial languages and discusses their existence in Japanese and Korean. As mentioned earlier, FOR-Datives are formed by verbs of “preparation” or “creation”.

#### (10) Japanese FOR-Datives

- a. \**Yoko-ga Taro-ni hi-wo tsuke-ta.*  
 Yoko-NOM Taro-DAT fire-ACC set-PAST  
 ‘Yoko lighted Taro a fire’
- b. \**Yoko-ga Taro-ni e-wo egai-ta.*  
 Yoko-NOM Taro-DAT picture-ACC paint-PAST  
 ‘Yoko painted Taro a picture’
- c. \**Yoko-ga Taro-ni iPhone-wo kat-ta.*  
 Yoko-NOM Taro-DAT iPhone-ACC buy-PAST  
 ‘Yoko bought Taro an iPhone’
- d. \**Yoko-ga Taro-ni gohan-wo tsukut-ta.*  
 Yoko-NOM Taro-DAT meal-ACC make-PAST  
 ‘Yoko made Taro a meal’
- e. \**Yoko-ga Taro-ni shatsu-wo eran-da.*  
 Yoko-NOM Taro-DAT shirt-ACC choose-PAST  
 ‘Yoko chose Taro a shirt’

(11) Korean FOR-Datives

- a. \**Cho-ga Park-egye bul-eul ky-eossta.*  
Cho-NOM Park-DAT fire-ACC set-PAST  
'Cho lighted Park a fire'
- b. \**Cho-ga Park-egye geulim-eul geul-yeossta.*  
Cho-NOM Park-DAT picture-ACC paint-PAST  
'Cho painted Park a picture'
- c. \**Cho-ga Park-egye iPhone-eul sa-ssta.*  
Cho-NOM Park-DAT iPhone-ACC buy-PAST  
'Cho bought Park an iPhone'
- d. \**Cho-ga Park-egye bab-eul mandeul-eossta.*  
Cho-NOM Park-DAT rice-ACC make-PAST  
'Cho made Park a meal'
- e. \**Cho-ga Park-egye syeocheu-eul ppob-assta.*  
Cho-NOM Park-DAT shirt-ACC paint-PAST  
'Cho chose Park a shirt'

Interestingly, the ungrammaticality of the examples in (10) and (11) signals that FOR-Datives fail to construct grammatical sentences in Japanese or Korean. One could say that in Japanese and Korean, mono-transitive FOR-Dative verbs fail to assign the theta role to two internal arguments at the same time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Interestingly, such predicates would be grammatical in Japanese or Korean if we avoided mentioning the Indirect Object as can be seen in (II). However, this structure does not represent a Benefactive Construction because of the lack of Beneficiary and therefore it will not be subject of this work.

- a. *Sasaki-ga shacho-ni ie-wo \*tsukut-ta.* (Japanese)  
Sasaki-NOM boss-DAT house-ACC build-PAST  
'Sasaki built his boss a house'
- b. *Sasaki-ga (\*shacho-ni) ie-wo tsukut-ta.*  
Sasaki-NOM boss-DAT house-ACC build-PAST  
'Sasaki built his boss a house'

However, Japanese and Korean have another way of satisfying this linguistic need. These head-final languages are able to construct **Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions** (CVBC), i.e. predicates with two verbs, the first one being a lexical verb (V1) typical for FOR-Datives (semantic meaning of “preparation” or “creation”) and a verb (V2) which will function as syntactic head of the whole predicate. V2 verbs that can be part of these Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions are limited in number. We will refer to them as **Verbs of Giving** (in Korean there are 3 verbs in total, in Japanese we can find 7 verbs).<sup>3</sup> Additionally, Verbs of Giving in Complex Verb Benefactive Construction have a tendency to lose their original lexical meaning and usually signal a certain level of deixis instead; in other words, their lexical usage has been grammaticalized.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> In Japanese and Korean, we may find a bigger variety of verbs carrying the meaning “give”, to be called as the “Verbs of Giving”. An exhaustive list of Japanese and Korean Verbs of Giving will be provided in the Chapter 3.

<sup>4</sup> By grammaticalization of Verbs of Giving, we mean a loss of original lexical meaning and having a function of a syntactic head only. For example, Japanese *ageru* ‘give’ can be used in the following examples.

- |     |  |                            |                              |                             |                             |
|-----|--|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I.  | <i>Shoko-ga</i><br>Shoko-NOM<br>'Shoko gave money to Yoko' | <i>Yoko-ni</i><br>Yoko-DAT | <i>okane-wo</i><br>money-ACC | <i>age-ta.</i><br>give-PAST | (Japanese)                  |
| II. | <i>Shoko-ga</i><br>Shoko-NOM<br>'Shoko lent money to Yoko' | <i>Yoko-ni</i><br>Yoko-DAT | <i>okane-wo</i><br>money-ACC | <i>kashi-te</i><br>lend-TE  | <i>age-ta.</i><br>give-PAST |

In (I.) an act of giving is demonstrated by a predicate consisting of a single verb *ageru* ‘give’ with Object *okane* ‘money’ in Accusative and Indirect Object *Yoko* in Dative. In this case we talk about an actual “notion or an act of giving money to Yoko.” The lexical meaning of the verb ‘give’ is present.

However, in (II.), the lexical meaning of *ageru* ‘give’ disappears, as it is part of a complex predicate consisting of a fully lexical V1 *kasu* ‘lend’ and a V2 *ageru* ‘give’, which functions as syntactic head only as can be seen on the past tense morpheme *-ta* being attached to V2. Verb of giving *ageru* has a deictic meaning (reduced or grammaticalized) – showing the direction towards *Yoko*, rather than actual ‘act of giving’.

The examples (12) and (13) are canonical structures depicting Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions.

(12) Complex Verbal Benefactive Constructions (Japanese)

*Momoko-ga tomodachi-ni biru-wo kat-te age-ta.*  
Momoko-NOM friend-DAT beer-ACC buy-TE give-PAST  
'Momoko bought (her) friend a beer' (Japanese)

(13) Complex Verbal Benefactive Constructions (Korean)

*Jinsu-ga yae-hantae iPhone-eul sa ju-eossta.*  
Jinsu-NOM he-DAT iPhone-ACC buy give-PAST  
'Jinsu bought him an iPhone.' (Korean)

In (12a), we can see that the Beneficiary *tomodachi* 'friend' acts as an Indirect Object marked with Dative case and that the Theme *biru* 'beer' is marked with an Accusative marker *wo*. These are Objects of a complex predicate consisting of *V-te V*.<sup>5</sup> As for the complex predicate *V-te V*, V1 *kau* 'buy' is a lexical verb and V2 *ageru* 'give' is one of Verbs of Giving.<sup>6</sup>

In Japanese, a combination of V1 (lexical verb) and V2 (verb of giving) is very frequent among Benefactive Constructions. According to Tomioka and Kim, a Verb of Giving (e.g. *ageru* 'give'), "increases the valency of the verb and licenses the addition of a dative benefactive argument" (2017).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The latter part of this work (Chapter 4) will also focus on the nature of "*V-te V*" construction and its various usages. *V-te V* in Benefactive Construction is just one instance of this very frequently used construction.

<sup>6</sup> V1 (lexical verb) is the first verb from the series *V-V*; V2 (the syntactic head) comes as the second right after V1. *V-te V* can be written as *V1-te V2*. In other words, my number indices follow the left to right word order.

<sup>7</sup> Tomioka and Kim (2017) are using a term "benefactive marker" for the V2 verb of giving (e.g. *age-*). This paper, like other papers discussing Benefactive Constructions, does not use this terminology. "V2" or "Verb of Giving" is used instead.



The same pattern can be observed in Korean (13b), where a transitive lexical verb V1 *sa-da* ‘buy’ forms a complex predicate with a transitive V2 of giving *ju-da* ‘give’. V2 is a syntactic head of this verbal complex.<sup>8</sup>

Having manifested the core principles of Complex Verbal Benefactive Constructions, we need to test these complex predicates with the corresponding English verbs of “preparation” or “creation”, which are used to create the FOR-Dative structures. Single verb predicates turned out ungrammatical in both Japanese (10) and Korean (11).

(14) Japanese FOR-Datives in CVBC

- |    |                               |                |                  |                  |                |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>Yoko-ga</i>                | <i>Taro-ni</i> | <i>hi-wo</i>     | <i>tsuke-te</i>  | <i>age-ta.</i> |
|    | Yoko-NOM                      | Taro-DAT       | fire-ACC         | set-TE           | give-PAST      |
|    | ‘Yoko lighted Taro a fire’    |                |                  |                  |                |
|    |                               |                |                  |                  |                |
| b. | <i>Yoko-ga</i>                | <i>Taro-ni</i> | <i>e-wo</i>      | <i>egai-te</i>   | <i>age-ta.</i> |
|    | Yoko-NOM                      | Taro-DAT       | picture-ACC      | paint- TE        | give-PAST      |
|    | ‘Yoko painted Taro a picture’ |                |                  |                  |                |
|    |                               |                |                  |                  |                |
| c. | <i>Yoko-ga</i>                | <i>Taro-ni</i> | <i>iPhone-wo</i> | <i>kat-te</i>    | <i>age-ta.</i> |
|    | Yoko-NOM                      | Taro-DAT       | iPhone-ACC       | buy- TE          | give-PAST      |
|    | ‘Yoko bought Taro an iPhone’  |                |                  |                  |                |
|    |                               |                |                  |                  |                |
| d. | <i>Yoko-ga</i>                | <i>Taro-ni</i> | <i>gohan-wo</i>  | <i>tsukut-te</i> | <i>age-ta.</i> |
|    | Yoko-NOM                      | Taro-DAT       | meal-ACC         | make- TE         | give-PAST      |
|    | ‘Yoko made Taro a meal’       |                |                  |                  |                |

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<sup>8</sup> Additionally, as we can see below, the Complex Verbal Benefactive Constructions are also common for other languages, e.g. Chinese (Cantonese), and Thai.

- |     |                                    |              |              |            |             |              |                         |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| I.  | <i>ngo</i>                         | <i>lo-zo</i> | <i>bun</i>   | <i>syu</i> | <i>bei</i>  | <i>keoi.</i> | Cantonese (Bodomo 2003) |
|     | 1.SG                               | take-PERF    | CL           | book       | give        | 3.SG         |                         |
|     | ‘I have taken a book for him/her.’ |              |              |            |             |              |                         |
|     |                                    |              |              |            |             |              |                         |
| II. | <i>khaw</i>                        | <i>son</i>   | <i>khccn</i> | <i>hay</i> | <i>Puk.</i> |              | Thai (Song 1998)        |
|     | he                                 | send         | thing        | give       | Pook        |              |                         |
|     | ‘She sent the things for Pook’     |              |              |            |             |              |                         |

- e. *Yoko-ga Taro-ni shatsu-wo eran-de<sup>9</sup> age-ta.*  
 Yoko-NOM Taro-DAT shirt-ACC choose- TE give-PAST  
 ‘Yoko chose Taro a shirt’

(15) Korean FOR-Datives in CVBC

- a. *Cho-ga Park-egye bul-eul ky-eo ju-eossta.*  
 Cho-NOM Park-DAT fire-ACC set-L give-PAST  
 ‘Cho lighted Park a fire’
- b. *Cho-ga Park-egye geulim-eul geuly-e ju-eossta.*  
 Cho-NOM Park-DAT picture-ACC paint-L give-PAST  
 ‘Cho painted Park a picture’
- c. *Cho-ga Park-egye iPhone-eul sa ju-eossta.*  
 Cho-NOM Park-DAT iphone-ACC buy(-L) give-PAST  
 ‘Cho bought Park an iPhone’
- d. *Cho-ga Park-egye bab-eul mandeul-eo ju-eossta.*  
 Cho-NOM Park-DAT rice-ACC make-L give-PAST  
 ‘Cho made Park a meal’
- e. *Cho-ga Park-egye syeocheu-eul ppob-a ju-eossta.*  
 Cho-NOM Park-DAT shirt-ACC paint-L give-PAST  
 ‘Cho chose Park a shirt’

In (14) and (15), we can see Japanese and Korean complex predicate structures that make use of the verbs typical for English FOR-Datives (“preparation” or “creation” verbs). Originally, these verbs turned out ungrammatical in (10) and (11) when constructing single verb predicates. However, when these verbs are used to generate complex predicates together with the Verbs of Giving in V2 position, completely grammatical structures will be generated. In other words, English and other head-initial languages have Single Verb Benefactive Constructions (FOR-Datives) that cannot be expressed in the same way by Japanese and Korean as Single Verb Benefactive Constructions. In such situation, Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions are obligatory. In fact, Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions (in

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<sup>9</sup> *-de* is an allomorph of the morpheme *-te*.

Japanese and Korean) represent FOR-Datives originally found other head-initial languages.

### 2.1.2.3 Head-Final Languages: Conclusion

In this section, we have analyzed the structures that Korean and Japanese make use of when making Benefactive Constructions. The Single Verb Benefactive Constructions are used to generate predicates similar to TO-Datives found in English and other head-initial languages. On the other hand, such single verb predicates failed to form structures corresponding to English FOR-Dative benefactive structures. In such cases, both Japanese and Korean, makes use of complex predicates of Verbs of Giving in V2 position together with a lexical V1 typical for FOR-Datives structures. These complex predicates are called Complex Verbal Benefactive Constructions.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, one of the typical properties of TO-Dative structures is that their Indirect Objects can be passivized. Let's test this syntactic operation on a couple of Japanese examples from TO-Datives (8).

#### (16) TO-Datives Passivization (Japanese)

- a. *Kohei-ga Megumi-ni kane-wo okur-are-ta.*  
Kohei-NOM Megumi-DAT money-ACC send-PASS-PAST  
'Kohei was sent the money by Megumi'
  
- b. *Kohei-ga Megumi-ni himitsu-wo iw-are-ta.*  
Kohei-NOM Megumi-DAT secret-ACC say-PASS-PAST  
'Kohei was told a secret by Megumi'

Passivization of Indirect Object in Japanese Single Verb Benefactive Construction (TO-Datives) turns out grammatical in (16). The following examples test the same syntactic operation on Japanese FOR-Dative Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions from (10).

(17) FOR-Datives Passivization (Japanese)

- a. \**Taro-ga*    *Yoko-ni*    *hi-wo*    *tsuke-te*    *ager-are-ta.*  
Taro-NOM    Yoko -DAT    fire-ACC    set-TE    give-PASS-PAST  
'Taro was lighted a fire by Yoko'
- b. \**Taro-ga*    *Yoko-ni*    *e-wo*    *egai-te*    *ager-are-ta.*  
Taro-NOM    Yoko-DAT    picture-ACC    paint- TE    give-PASS-PAST  
'Taro was painted a picture by Yoko'

On the other side, Japanese Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions (FOR-Datives) do not allow passivization of Indirect Object. This claim indicates the similarities between SVBC with TO-Datives (16) and also similarities between CVBC and FOR-Datives (17).

## 2.2 Two Types of Benefactive Constructions: Conclusion

In this chapter, we have proposed a unifying theory according to which TO-Dative structures found in English and other head-initial languages can be also found among Japanese and Korean (Single Verb Benefactive Constructions). On the other hand, the syntax of FOR-Dative structures in English and other head-initial languages cannot be reproduced in Japanese and Korean by single verb predicates. In order to express meanings of FOR-Dative benefactive structures, these head-final languages make use of Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions.

One of the reasons why Japanese and Korean do not allow FOR-Datives in single verb predicates could be that a verb can assign a theta role to only one single internal argument. In other words, monotransitive verbs in single verb predicates fail to assign theta roles to more than just one argument (Direct Object, Indirect Object). Therefore, Japanese and Korean found a way of constructing complex predicates with lexical verb V1 and a ditransitive Verb of Giving V1, allowing these verbs to

assign theta roles to both Direct Object with Accusative marker and Indirect Object with Dative marker.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> This is just one of the possible interpretations or theories why Japanese and Korean generate TO-Datives and FOR-Datives in a different way. A space for further clarification in investigating this phenomenon is yet to be undertaken.

### 3 Verbs of Giving and Receiving

This chapter takes a look at **Verbs of Giving and Receiving** that are used together with other lexical verbs in order to create Complex Verb Benefactive Construction in Japanese and Korean. In other words, verbs that are used to create **FOR-Datives** structures. Firstly, we will analyze individual Verbs of Giving and Receiving from semantic, syntactic and pragmatic perspectives.

#### 3.1 Verbs of Giving and Receiving (Japanese)

In order to analyze Japanese and Korean Verbs of Giving, we need to first distinguish between these two types separately. The first section talks about Japanese, the latter will focus on Korean. A comparative analysis of these two languages closes this chapter.

The Japanese language has seven types of Verbs of Giving and Receiving. In Japanese, the most important is the difference in usage of these verbs with respect to the relationship between Beneficiary and Speaker; or the relation between Beneficiary and Agent. Details on how we came to such conclusion, together with multiple syntactic tests, are covered in this chapter.<sup>11</sup>

##### 3.1.1 Verbs of Giving

In order to start distinguishing types of Verbs of Giving in Japanese, we will need to look at more canonical examples of such expressions.

(1)

- a. *Kare-ga okasan-ni hana-wo age-ta.* (Japanese)  
He-NOM mother-DAT flower-ACC give-PAST  
'He gave his mum flowers'

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<sup>11</sup> To my knowledge, these differences are not clarified in the texts and analyses I have consulted, though of course research I am not familiar with may have covered them.

- b. *Kare-ga okasan-ni hana-wo kat-te age-ta.*  
 He-NOM mother-DAT flower-ACC buy-TE give-PAST  
 'He bought his mum flowers'

(2)

- a. *Kare-ga watashi-ni hana-wo kure-ta.*  
 He-NOM I-DAT flower-ACC give-PAST  
 'He gave me flowers'
- b. *Kare-ga watashi-ni hana-wo kat-te kure-ta.*  
 He-NOM I-DAT flower-ACC buy-TE give-PAST  
 'He bought me flowers'

The examples (1) and (2) demonstrate a canonical usage of Verbs of Giving – *ageru* (1) and *kureru* (2). In (1a), we have a ditransitive construction with a single predicate *ageru*, which assigns its theta role to a Beneficiary *okasan* 'mother' in Dative case and a Patient *hana* 'flower' in Accusative case. In (1b), a verbal complex of two transitive verbs is demonstrated. The ditransitive giving verb *ageru*, functioning as a syntactic head (V2) and the monotransitive verb *kau* 'buy' (V1), together form a verbal complex with the same argument structure as in (1a). This is a typical instance of a Complex Verb Benefactive Construction. As demonstrated in the Chapter 2 when discussing TO-Datives and FOR-Datives, verbs used in English FOR-Datives do not usually indicate a transfer position, but usually "preparation" or "creation". These verbs seem to correspond to V1 verbs used in Japanese or Korean CVBCs. For more on the difference between verbs used in TO-Datives and FOR-Datives, take a look back at sections 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.2.1.

In (2), a similar sentence structure is used with another verb of giving - *kureru*. In (2a), we have a ditransitive construction with a single predicate *kureru*, which assigns its theta role to a Beneficiary *watashi* 'me' in Dative and a Patient *hana* 'flower' in Accusative. In (2b), a verbal complex (FOR Dative, or CVBC) of two transitive verbs, is demonstrated, whereas V1 stands for lexical verb *sada* 'buy' and a ditransitive Verb of Giving *kureru* 'give'.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The English counterparts of CVBCs in (1b) would be constructed by the use of FOR-Dative structures. See examples below.

The ditransitive giving verb *kureru*, functioning as a syntactic head (V2) and the monotransitive verb *kau* (V1), together forming a verbal complex with the same argument structure (2a). A non-native speaker of Japanese might be at this point confused because the structures in (1) and (2), despite having two different V2 in place, seem to be identical. However, the following structures demonstrate differences between *kureru* and *ageru*.

(3)

- a. *John-ga okasan-ni nimotsu-wo mot-te age-ta.*  
 John-NOM mother-DAT suitcase-ACC take-TE give-PAST  
 'John took his mother a suitcase'
- b. *John-ga okasan-ni nimotsu-wo mot-te kure-ta.*  
 John-NOM mother-DAT suitcase-ACC take-TE give-PAST  
 'John took my mother a suitcase'

The sentences in (3) demonstrate the semantic difference between *ageru* and *kureru*. We can see that the meaning of deictic expression *okasan* 'mother' will be determined by the usage of the correct V2. If *kureru* is used, this will mean that either Indirect Object grammatical relation must be taken by a Beneficiary which is the speaker himself, or anybody closely related to the speaker. That is also why structures in (2) are also grammatical. **Table 1** shows a complete list of them together with an outline of semantic and syntactic differences.

- 
- I. *He bought flowers for his mum.*  
 II. *He bought his mum flowers.*



**TABLE 1**

**RELATION BETWEEN AGENT & BENEFICIARY (INDIRECT OBJECT)**

English Meaning	Social Hierarchy	Social Hierarchy	Social Hierarchy	Relation between Beneficiary (IO) and Speaker
	Agent > Beneficiary	Agent = Beneficiary	Agent < Beneficiary	
'give' Cases when Indirect Object is NOT the speaker	<i>yaru</i>	<i>ageru</i>	<i>sashiageru</i>	↑ ↓
'give' Cases when Indirect Object is the speaker	-	<i>kureru</i>	<i>kudasaru</i>	
'get/receive'	-	<i>morau</i>	<i>itadaku</i>	

On the other side, if the sentence function of Beneficiary (Indirect Object) is taken by anybody else, (i.e. nor speaker nor anybody closely related to him) *ageru* must be used instead. The usage of these two Verbs of Giving is defined according to the following rule (Table 2).

**TABLE 2 JAPANESE VERBS OF GIVING: DEMYSTIFYING *KURERU* AND *AGERU***

<i>kureru</i>	speaker (or somebody close to the speaker) must take a sentence function of the Indirect Object; structure is the same as with <i>ageru</i> .
<i>ageru</i>	speaker (or somebody close to the speaker) must <b>not</b> take a sentence function of an Indirect Object; in all other cases, <i>kureru</i> I used.

(4)

- a. *Beer-wo kat-te kure!*  
Beer-ACC buy-TE give-IMP  
'Buy me a beer!'
- b. *Beer-wo kat-te age-te!*  
Beer-ACC buy-TE give-IMP  
'Buy him/her/them a beer!'
- c. *Beer-wo \*sensei-ni kat-te kure!*  
Beer-ACC teacher-DAT buy-TE give-IMP

'Buy the teacher a beer!'

d. *Beer-wo*      *watashi-ni*      *kat-te*      *kure!*  
Beer-ACC      I-DAT      buy-TE      give-IMP  
'Buy me a beer!'

e. *Beer-wo*      *sensei-ni*      *kat-te*      *age-te!*  
Beer-ACC      teacher-DAT      buy-TE      give-IMP  
'Buy the teacher a beer!'

f. *Beer-wo*      \**watashi-ni*      *kat-te*      *age-te!*  
Beer-ACC      I-DAT      buy-TE      give-IMP  
'Buy me a beer!'

The difference between *kureru* and *ageru* is also visible in the structures in (4). In (4a) and (4b), a speaker commands an addressee 'to buy and give a beer to a Beneficiary' (the Beneficiary is not pronounced). However, a speaker of Japanese is able to limit this Beneficiary to the speaker itself or to someone closely related to the speaker. Therefore, while the structure in (4c) is ungrammatical and the structure in (4d) is acceptable. The final examples in (4e) and (4f) demonstrate syntactic restrictions on *ageru* with respect to the relation between Indirect Object and speaker of the utterance.

Japanese is a highly contextual language, which has no grammatical gender, nor obligatorily explicit Subject in the sentence. At the same time, a speaker of this language always needs to bear in mind his or her position towards participants in the discourse. This social standard can be exemplified in many constructions, but in particular in Benefactive Constructions, where the only way to show this social proximity (i.e. social deixis) is by a correct selection of Verbs of Giving (in V2 position) with respect to the relationship between Indirect Objects and the speaker of such an utterance. *V-te kureru* and *V-te ageru* are certainly examples of this need in Japanese. The right usage of *kureru* and *ageru* allows speakers to cast restrictions on relations of participants in the discourse.

Interestingly, children at an early stage (even 4-5 years old) seem to have problems with correct usage of *kureru* and *ageru*.<sup>13</sup> The following structures and their misinterpretations might occur.

(5)

- a. *Okashi-wo* (\**watashi-ni*) *kat-te* *age-te!*  
 snack-ACC I-DAT buy-TE give-IMP  
 'Buy me a snack!'
- b. *Okashi-wo* (*watashi-ni*) *kat-te* *kure!*  
 snack-ACC I-DAT buy-TE give-IMP  
 'Buy me a snack!'

The example (5a) shows a situation when a child wants somebody else to get snacks for the child itself. However, the interpretation of the unpronounced Indirect Object is wrong. The only correct structure where one is asking to receive the Theme of the predicate is with *kureru* (5b).

**TABLE 3 JAPANESE VERBS OF GIVING: *KURERU* AND *AGERU***

English Meaning	Japanese Verbs of Giving
'give' Cases when Indirect Object is NOT the Speaker	<i>ageru</i>
'give' Cases when Indirect Object is the Speaker	<i>kureru</i>

So far, we have attempted to demonstrate the difference between the usage of *kureru* and *ageru*. The next chapter takes a closer look at Verbs of Receiving.

### 3.1.2 Verbs of Receiving

This section focuses on the grammatical properties and usage of the Japanese verb *morau*, meaning 'get' or 'receive'. *Morau* belongs to a group of Verbs of Receiving

<sup>13</sup> This information is based on the writer's personal observation of Japanese children.

and it is commonly used to form a Complex Verbal Benefactive Construction, i.e. *morau* is a verb that is used to create **FOR-Datives** structures.

(6)

- a. *Kare-ga okasan-ni hana-wo morat-ta.*  
 He-NOM mother-DAT flower-ACC get-PAST  
 'He got flowers from his mother'
- b. *Kare-ga okasan-ni hana-wo kat-te morat-ta.*  
 He-NOM mother-DAT flower-ACC buy-TE get-PAST  
 'He had his mother get him flowers'

The canonical meaning of *morau* is 'receive' or 'get'. It can be used in a single verb clause, as can be seen in (6a). The Subject *kare* 'he' in Nominative is a Beneficiary of receiving a Theme *hana* 'flower' in Accusative from an Indirect Object *okasan* 'mother', which is Agent of the whole predicate.

In (6b), the verb *morau* is used in a complex predicate structure *V-te V*. In this case, *morau* is the syntactic head of the predicate and it carries past tense suffix *-ta*. The translation of this sentence is, 'He got flowers from his mother', but the literal structure would be closer to, 'He had his mother hand him flowers'.

The Indirect Object (Beneficiary) of the FOR-Dative Complex predicate is marked with a Dative marker *ni*. According to Kabata and Rice "*ni* demonstrates a wide array of functions ranging from a simple locative marker, to a marker of indirect object, the agent in passive clauses, a marker of purpose and reason, and even to a concessive subordinator" (1997:107). When we talk about Benefactive Constructions, *ni* demonstrates a marker of Indirect Object. Interestingly, the Dative marker *ni* can be also replaced by a marker *kara* 'from'.

(7)

- a. *Kare-ga okasan-kara hana-wo morat-ta.*  
 He-NOM mother-from flower-ACC get-PAST  
 'He got flowers from his mother'
- b. *Kare-ga okasan-kara hana-wo kat-te morat-ta.*

He-NOM      mother-from flower-ACC    buy-TE      get-PAST  
'He had his mother get him flowers'

The structures in (7) indicate how a marker *kara* 'from' can replace the Dative marker *ni* used in (6). Such replacement puts an emphasis on the Indirect Object and makes it easier for a listener to identify Semantic Roles in the clause. Dative marker *ni* carries has a lot of different functions, whereas *kara* signals "starting point of action" in every possible context. Therefore, *kara* in Benefactive Constructions is more common in spoken Japanese.

The Benefactive Constructions with the Japanese Verb of Receiving *morau* are very similar to passive constructions as is demonstrated in the example below.<sup>14</sup>

(8)

- a. *Kare-ga      okasan-ni      koros-are-ta.*  
He-NOM      mother-DAT    kill-PASS-PAST  
'He was killed by his mother'
- b. *Okasan-ga    kare-wo      korosh-ita.*  
Mother-NOM he-ACC      kill-PAST  
'His mother killed him'

Despite similar structures in both passive constructions and Verbs of Receiving, we need to emphasize the fact that FOR-Dative CVBC with Verbs of Receiving and Passive structures must remain distinguished from each other, as there is no passive morpheme *-(r)are* present in the former. Furthermore, there is no active counterpart for the sentence in (7b) but there is an active counterpart to the passive structure (8a) in (8b). Structures with this verb of receiving are also not to be

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<sup>14</sup> Passive constructions together with their complexity and scope of usage cannot be covered by this thesis so I am only briefly introducing the simple concepts of these structures in this chapter. For more on passives take a look at Kubo (1992), Kuroda (1979), or Kuroda (1992).

confused with grammar of causatives. The causative morpheme *-(s)ase* is not present.<sup>15</sup>

Let's try to compare the active and passivized counterparts in Benefactive Constructions in English and Japanese.

(9)

- |    |             |             |              |                    |                     |
|----|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. | <i>Taro</i> | <i>gave</i> | <i>Maki</i>  | <i>a souvenir.</i> |                     |
|    | Taro-NOM    | give-PAST   | Maki-DAT     | souvenir-ACC       |                     |
| b. | <i>Maki</i> | <i>was</i>  | <i>given</i> | <i>a souvenir</i>  | <i>(by Taro).</i>   |
|    | Maki-NOM    | be-1 SG     | give-PASS    | souvenir-ACC       |                     |
| c. | <i>Maki</i> | <i>got</i>  |              | <i>a souvenir</i>  | <i>(from Taro).</i> |
|    | Maki-NOM    | get-PAST    |              | souvenir-ACC       |                     |

In English, with a TO-Dative single verb predicate, we can see that the passivization of the predicate with a verb of giving *give* (9a) will result in grammatical structure (9b). The Beneficiary *Maki* is moved to a sentence function of Subject and the Agent which had originally a sentence function of a Subject is rhematized or it may also remain unpronounced. Besides the passivization structure, we may construct an active sentence (9c) carrying the same meaning as in (9b). In (9c) we make use of a verb *get* which is a semantic counterpart to the verb *give* and therefore a structure with the opposite meaning can be constructed without the use of passive constructions. In conclusion, English may use both passivization and semantic antonyms to create structures with rhematization of Agent.

(10)

- |    |                               |                |                   |               |                |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>Taro-ga</i>                | <i>Maki-ni</i> | <i>omiyage-wo</i> | <i>kat-te</i> | <i>age-ta.</i> |
|    | Taro-NOM                      | Maki-DAT       | souvenir-ACC      | buy-TE        | give-PAST      |
|    | 'Taro bought Maki a souvenir' |                |                   |               |                |

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<sup>15</sup> There is an interesting approach toward these differences between passives and Verbs of Receiving in the "Acquisition of Benefactives and Passives" by Okabe and Kubo (2005). This paper compares acquisition of structures for *ageru*, *morau*, and passives and comes to a conclusion that *ageru* is learnt by children at an earlier stage than are *morau* or passive constructions.

- b. *Maki-ga Taro-ni omiyage-wo kat-te \*ager-are-ta.*  
 Maki-NOM Taro-DAT souvenir-ACC buy-TE give-PASS-PAST  
 'Maki was bought a souvenir from Taro'
- c. *Maki-ga Taro-ni omiyage-wo kat-te morat-ta.*  
 Maki-NOM Taro-DAT souvenir-ACC buy-TE get-PASS-PAST  
 'Maki had Taro buy her a souvenir'

Comparing English and its Benefactive Constructions to the Japanese ones, we may notice that Japanese Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions cannot undergo a passivization operation because they represent FOR-Dative structures. In (10a), we can see a sentence with Agent *Taro* having the sentence function of Subject of a *V-te* V complex predicate with an Indirect Object *Maki* and an Object *omiyage* 'souvenir'.

If we try to passivize the Indirect Object *Maki* which has the sentence function of Subject, an ungrammatical structure will be generated (10b). In other words, the complex verb predicate cannot undergo a passivization. However, the semantic counterpart *morau* can be used instead of passivization in order to bring about the rhematization of the Agent. *V-te morau* predicates seem to be very similar to passive structures, from pragmatic point of view.

In the previous section, we indicated that usage of *kureru* and *ageru* may have some speaker-oriented restrictions with respect to Indirect Object. Let's test this behavior on *morau*, by the insertion of a deictic expression in the sentence function of Indirect Object and figure out what possible interpretations will be triggered.

(11)

- a. *John-ga okasan-ni nimotsu-wo mot-te morat-ta.*  
 John-NOM mother-DAT suitcase-ACC take-TE give-PAST  
 'John had (one's) mother carry a suitcase'
- b. *John-i-ga watashi-no okasan-ni nimotsu-wo mot-te morat-ta.*  
 John-NOM I-POSS mother-DAT suitcase-ACC take-TE give-PAST  
 'John had his own mother carry a suitcase'
- c. *John-ga Katy-no okasan-ni nimotsu-wo mot-te morat-ta.*

John-NOM Katy-POSS mother-DAT suitcase-ACC take-TE give-PAST  
 'John had somebody else's mother carry a suitcase'

Example (11) describes a situation where the Subject John is having his or somebody else's mother carry his suitcase. The interesting difference between the set of Verbs of Giving *ageru/kureru* and the Verb of Receiving *morau*, is that *morau* seems to be neutral when it comes to relation of speaker and Indirect Object. The interpretation of (10a) can be both, it is the mother of the speaker who is carrying John's suitcase, and it can be somebody else's mother, too. Therefore, *morau* remains to be neutral and can be used under all circumstances, regardless of the relationship between the Beneficiary and the Speaker. That is why there is no need to have two instances of Verbs of Receiving in Japanese, in contrast to the two verbs of Giving.

**TABLE 4 JAPANESE VERBS OF GIVING**

English Meaning	Japanese Verbs of Giving
'give' Cases when Indirect Object is NOT the Speaker	<i>ageru</i>
'give' Cases when Indirect Object is the Speaker	<i>kureru</i>
'get/receive'	<i>morau</i>

### 3.1.3 Honorifics

Japanese language is well known for its complexity because of various honorific expressions. Honorifics can be also found among Verbs of Giving. So far, we have taken a look at *ageru*, *kureru* and *morau*. These verbs of giving represent a quite neutral set of verbs that can be used with people of more or less similar social ranking.



This chapter's primary focus is on the rest - less or more polite version of these expressions. It was probably Kuno, who for the first time in the history of Japanese linguistics, focused on this complexity of honorifics within Verbs of Giving (1973), also mentioned by Matsumoto (2013).

**TABLE 5 VERBS OF GIVING: POLITENESS**

<b>1) Verbs of Giving: Speaker ≠ Indirect Object</b>		<b>Definition</b>
a)	<i>yaru</i>	someone gives something to a person <b>inferior</b> to him
b)	<i>ageru</i>	someone gives something to a person <b>equal</b> to him
c)	<i>sashiageru</i>	someone gives something to a person <b>superior</b> to him
<b>2) Verbs of Giving: Speaker = Indirect Object</b>		
a)	<i>kureru</i>	someone <b>equal</b> (or <b>inferior</b> ) to the speaker gives something to him
b)	<i>kudasaru</i>	someone <b>superior</b> to the speaker gives something to him
<b>3) Verbs of Receiving</b>		
a)	<i>morau</i>	someone receives something from a person <b>equal</b> (or <b>inferior</b> ) to him
b)	<i>itadaku</i>	someone receives something from a person <b>superior</b> to him

In **Table 5**, equivalents of *ageru*, *kureru*, and *morau* are demonstrated. There is no syntactic difference between verbs within each group (1), (2) or (3), i.e. verbs *yaru* and *sashiageru* form exactly same constructions as verb *ageru*; *kudasaru* forms same constructions as *kureru*; verb *itadaku* can form same structures as *morau*. The only difference is in the Beneficiary and Speaker relationship. The following examples express canonical usage of verbs from **Table 5** inside the FOR-Dative Benefactive Constructions.

(12)

- a. *Miwa-ga inu-ni esa-wo tsukut-te yat-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM dog-DAT feed-ACC prepare-TE give-PAST  
 'Miwa made the dog feed'

- b. *Miwa-ga kareshi-ni gohan-wo tsukut-te age-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM boyfriend-DAT meal-ACC prepare-TE give-PAST  
 'Miwa cooked her boyfriend a meal'
- c. *Miwa-ga sensei-ni present-wo kat-te sashiage-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM teacher-DAT present-ACC buy-TE give-PAST  
 'Miwa bought the teacher a present'

Structures in (12) represent a typical usage of verbs *yoru*, *ageru*, and *sashiageru*. So far, we have covered a use-case of *ageru*. This verb is typically used for situations when a Beneficiary is on a similar social layer as Agent itself. In other words, *Miwa* identifies herself the same as her *kareshi* 'boyfriend' (12b). On the other side, if the Beneficiary is considered to be of a lower status than Agent, verb *yoru* would be used (12a). *Inu* 'dog' is obviously of a lower social status than *Miwa* herself. Lastly, if the opposite is true, and the Beneficiary seems to be of a higher status than Agent, verb *sashiageru* will be used (12c).

At this point, the writer wants to mention that the *ageru*, *yoru*, and *sashiageru* can be used reciprocally. Situations when the most honorific form *sashiageru* would be used, for example in (12a), we can also end up using the less polite variants *ageru* or *yoru*. Hypothetically, a situation where *Miwa* is trying to mock her teacher can be also constructed with the usage of *ageru* or *yoru*. In other words, the syntactic structure of Verbs of Giving is identical. However, each of them carries a different pragmatic function.

(13)

- a. *Miwa-ga watashi-ni okane-wo kashi-te kure-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM I-DAT money-ACC lend-TE give-PAST  
 'Miwa lent me some money'
- b. *Sensei-ga watashi-ni okane-wo kashi-te kudasat-ta.*  
 teacher-NOM I-DAT money-ACC lend-TE give-PAST  
 'Teacher lent me some money'

Similarly, verb of giving *kureru*, has its more polite variant – *kudasaru*. This one is used when Agent is of lower social status than Beneficiary. The clear difference between pragmatic usage of *kureru* and *kudasaru* is present in (13).

(14)

- a. *Miwa-ga kare-ni bango-wo oshie-te morat-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM he-DAT number-ACC teach-TE receive-PAST  
 ‘Miwa had him tell her the number’
- b. *Miwa-ga sensei-ni bango-wo oshie-te itadai-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM teacher-DAT number-ACC teach-TE receive-PAST  
 ‘Miwa had the teacher tell her the phone number’

Lastly, the Japanese verb of receiving *morau* has a more polite variant *itadaku*, which can be used when the Beneficiary is above Agent of the expression. There is no syntactic difference between *morau* and *itadaku*.

### 3.1.4 Triple Verbal Complexes

Both giving and receiving verbs can be used together to combine an action involving “complex status-favor relationships” (Kuno 1973). In other words, clusters involving more than one verb of giving are possible. Consider the examples below.

(15)

- a. *John-ga Mary-ni (tanonde) Jane-ni hon-wo yon-de*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT asking Jane-DAT book-ACC read-TE  
*age-te morat-ta.*  
 give-TE receive-PAST  
 ‘John had Mary read books to Jane’
- b. *Momoko-ga Taro-ni hon-wo yon-de morat-te yat-ta.*  
 Momoko-NOM Taro-DAT book-ACC read-TE get-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Momoko gave Taro a favor of giving him the favor to read (her) a book’
- c. *Maki-wa imouto-ni hon-wo yon-de yat-te kure-ta.*  
 Maki-TOP sister-DAT book-ACC read-TE give-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Maki gave me the favor of giving my sister the favor of reading books to him’

The examples in (15) do not provide an exhaustive list of the possible variants of all Verbs of Giving but exhibit a couple of possible structures generated by involving two Verbs of Giving in *V-te V-te V* complexes. One may also notice that ditransitive Verbs of Giving satisfy their argument structure with autonomous Indirect Objects. For example, in (15a), Agent 1 *Mary* performs an act of “giving and reading a book” for the behalf of Indirect Object (Beneficiary 1) *Jane*. At the same time, *Mary* also has a role of Agent 2 of performing the original act of “giving and reading a book for Jane” on the behalf of *John* (Subject and Beneficiary 2).

Similar structure can be observed in (15b) and (15c), whereas different types of Verbs of Giving are used.

### 3.1.5 Intransitive V1

This section raises a question of whether transitivity of individual verbs V1 and V2 has an impact on grammaticality of *V-te V* complexes. Bearing in mind that in FOR-Datives, Verbs of Giving are ditransitive verbs, two situations may occur.

**TABLE 6 TRANSITIVITY OF V1**

lexical (V1)	verb of giving (V2)	example
transitive	transitive	<i>yon-de age-ru</i> 'give read'
<b>intransitive</b>	transitive	<i>it-te age-ru</i> 'give go'

According to Shibatani, an intransitive lexical verb can be only used if the Goal is not overtly expressed (1994:56). Let's take his argument and verbal complexes from **Table 6** Transitivity of V1 into practice.

(16)

- a. *Miwa-ga* *it-te age-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM go-TE give-PAST  
 'Miwa left'; literally 'Miwa did a favor of leaving'

b. *Miwa-ga* *omise-e* *it-te* *age-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM store-DIR go-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Miwa went to a store’; literally ‘Miwa did a favor of going to a store’

c. *Miwa-ga* *\*kareshi-ni* *omise-e* *it-te* *age-ta.*  
 Miwa-NOM boyfriend-DAT store-DIR go-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Miwa went to a store for him’; literally ‘Miwa did him a favor of going to a store’

Despite the fact that Shibatani is trying to support his argument with various examples, it seems that the presence of Goal results in grammatical structures as can be observed on (16b). Verbal structures in (16) prove the theory of Shibatani, where the presence of Goal that sets a restriction on intransitive V1, wrong. It is not the presence of Goal but the presence of Beneficiary which decides whether an intransitive verb can occur in V1 position in Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions. It is because of the argument structure of intransitive verbs fails to assign a theta role to an Indirect Object (Beneficiary). On the other side, the Indirect Object sentence function may remain empty even though a ditransitive V2 is part of the verbal complex.

(17)

a. *Samurai-ga* *shin-de* *age-ta.*  
 Samurai-NOM die-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Samurai died’; literally ‘Samurai did a favor of dying’

b. *Samurai-ga* *\*geisha-ni* *shin-de* *age-ta.*  
 Samurai-NOM geisha-DAT die-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Samurai died for geisha’

c. *Honda-ga* *gakkou-e* *hashit-te* *kure-ta.*  
 Honda-NOM school-DIR run-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Honda ran to the school’; literally ‘Honda did a favor of running to the school’

d. *Honda-ga* *\*watashi-ni* *gakkou-e* *hashit-te* *kure-ta.*  
 Honda-NOM I-DAT school-DIR run-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Honda ran to the school for me’

Verbal structures in (17) confirm the restriction of having an overtly expressed Beneficiary, inside *V-te V* complexes with intransitive V1 (e.g. verbs like *shinu* ‘die’, *hashiru* ‘run’) and ditransitive V2.

### 3.1.6 Verbs of Giving and Receiving: Conclusion on Japanese

**TABLE 7**

<b>English Meaning</b>	<b>Relation between Agent &amp; Beneficiary (Indirect Object)</b>			<b>Relation between Beneficiary (IO) and Speaker</b>
	<b>Social Hierarchy Agent &gt; Beneficiary</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy Agent = Beneficiary</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy Agent &lt; Beneficiary</b>	
‘give’ Cases when Indirect Object is NOT the speaker	<i>yaru</i>	<i>ageru</i>	<i>sashiageru</i>	↑ ↓
‘give’ Cases when Indirect Object is the speaker	-	<i>kureru</i>	<i>kudasaru</i>	
‘get/receive’	-	<i>morau</i>	<i>itadaku</i>	

**Table 7** summarizes the outcome of various linguistics findings among Japanese Verbs of Giving and Receiving. Horizontally, we can see different usage of verbs based on the relation between Agent and Beneficiary (Indirect Object). Vertically, we notice different usage of verbs based on the relationship between Speaker and Beneficiary.


Interestingly, one may notice that there are no specific ‘less polite’ variants of *kureru* and *morau*. This is probably because both *kureru* and *morau* express direction towards either speaker or Subject of such clauses. Both, speaker and Subject, would be receiving a benefit of a specific action and therefore at least some level of politeness or respect is required.

To sum up, in the chapter **3.1 Verbs of Giving and Receiving (Japanese)**, we managed to provide an in-depth analysis of Japanese Verbs of Giving which play an important role in constructing Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions which correspond to English PRO-Dative structures. The next chapter provides a similar type of analysis on Korean Verbs of Giving and types of Benefactive Constructions they can generate.

## 3.2 Verbs of Giving and Receiving (Korean)

In the previous section, Japanese Verbs of Giving were analyzed in detail. This chapter takes a closer look at Korean and the types of Verbs of Giving that can be used to form FOR-Dative Benefactive Constructions. Knowledge of the findings from the previous chapter is crucial in order to fully understand the concept of Korean Verbs of Giving.

**TABLE 8**                      **RELATION BETWEEN AGENT & BENEFICIARY (INDIRECT OBJECT)**



<b>English Meaning</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy Agent &gt; Patient</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy Agent = Patient</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy Agent &lt; Patient</b>
'give'	-	<i>juda</i>	<i>deurida</i>
'get/receive'	-	<i>batta</i>	

Korean consists of three types of Verbs of Giving and Receiving. **Table 8**

Relation between Agent & Beneficiary (Indirect Object) shows the complete list of them together with outlined semantic differences. The most important is the difference in usage of these verbs with respect to the relationship between Beneficiary and Agent. Difference between usage of verbs based on Speaker and Beneficiary relationship seems to be missing.

Details on how we came to such conclusion, together with multiple syntactic, semantic and pragmatic operations, are covered in this chapter.

### 3.2.1 Verbs of Giving

This chapter focuses on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of Korean Verbs of Giving that can be used to construct FOR-Dative constructions, in other



Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions. The general concept of these constructions was analyzed on Japanese in the earlier sections.

(1)

- a. *Nae-ga*      *yae-hantae*    *chaek-eul*                      *ju-eoss-ta.*    (Korean)  
 I-NOM        he-DAT        book-ACC                      give-PAST  
 'I gave him a book.'
- b. *Nae-ga*      *yae-hantae*    *chaek-eul*    *ilk-e*            *ju-eoss-ta.*  
 I-NOM        he-DAT        book-ACC    read-L            give-PAST  
 'I read him a book.'

The example (1) shows two constructions of Korean verb of giving – *juda*. The literal translation of this word is 'give' and it can be used separately while functioning as a single verb carrying both lexical meaning and syntactic function, as is also demonstrated by (1a). Same as in Japanese, Korean Verbs of Giving can be also used as a part of Complex Verbal Benefactive Construction as in (1b). The Agent *nae* 'I' performs an act of reading on the behalf of a Beneficiary (Indirect Object) *yae* 'he' in Dative case.

(2)

- a. *Nae-ga*      *yae-hantae*    *chaek-eul*    *ilk-e*            *ju-eoss-ta.*  
 I-NOM        he-DAT        book-ACC    read-L            give-PAST  
 'I read him a book.'
- b. *Yae-ga*      *na-hantae*      *chaek-eul*    *ilk-e*            *ju-eoss-ta.*  
 He-NOM      I-DAT            book-ACC    read-L            give-PAST  
 'He read me a book'

Examples in (2) demonstrate the first difference between Japanese and Korean Verbs of Giving. Korean verb of giving *juda* does not depend on the relationship between Beneficiary (Indirect Object) and Speaker. It can be used in both situations, i.e. it does take into account whether speaker (or somebody close to the speaker) takes a sentence function of the Indirect Object, or it does not. Therefore, both clauses in (2) are grammatical.

Shibatani concentrates on Korean and finds out that there is one additional Verb of Giving in Korean that can be used as speaker-oriented counterpart of Japanese *kureru* (1994, 53). The verb is *dao* and can be used only in the imperative mood.

- (3) (Shibatani 1994)
- a. *Na-egye sagwa-leul da-o.*  
 I-DAT apple-ACC give-IMP  
 'Give me an apple.'
- b. \**Misu-egye sagwa-leul da-o.*  
 Misu-DAT apple-ACC give-IMP  
 'Give Misu an apple'

As demonstrated by examples in (3), Beneficiary of the predicate *dao* needs to be speaker of the actual utterance. *Dao* can be used only as an imperative and it means 'do something on behalf of me (speaker)'. Therefore, the structure (3b), where a speaker is asking someone (agent stays unpronounced in directives) to give an apple on the behalf of 3<sup>rd</sup> person – *Jinsu*. In other words, *dao* can be used only if the speaker takes the semantic role of Beneficiary (Indirect Object). *Dao* can be used also in Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions (4).

- (4) *Na-egye sagwa-leul sa da-o.*  
 I-DAT apple-ACC buy give-IMP  
 'Buy me an apple.'

There is one more example of such situation, when Verbs of Giving in Korean are speaker-oriented. It is a situation of indirect speech, i.e. quoting imperative clauses, when Complementizer *-go* is used.<sup>16</sup>

- (5)
- Jinsu: "Mul-eul sa ju-se yo!"*  
 water-ACC buy give-IMP  
 Jinsu: 'Please get some water!'

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<sup>16</sup> It is very likely that imperative expression *da-o* and *dar-rago* come from the same root. This has not been proven by any research article yet. However, one may notice that the speaker-oriented usage of these verbs is identical.

(6)

a. *Jinsu-i-ga mul-eul yae-j-hantae sa ju-ra-go*  
Jinsu-NOM water-ACC he-DAT buy give-IMP-COMP  
*hae-eoss-ta.*  
do-PAST  
'Jinsu<sub>i</sub> asked someone to buy him<sub>j</sub> water'

b. *Jinsu-i-ga mul-eul yae-i-hantae sa dal-ra-go*  
Jinsu-NOM water-ACC mother-DAT buy give-IMP-COMP  
*hae-eoss-ta.*  
do-PAST  
'Jinsu<sub>i</sub> asked someone to buy him<sub>i</sub> water'

In (5) we can see an imperative clause where *Jinsu*' asks somebody else to get some water'. In this situation, Indirect Object is intentionally omitted and therefore we cannot imply whether the Beneficiary is *Jinsu* himself, or somebody else. Based on our previous findings, the verb of giving *juda* can be used in both cases, regardless of speaker and Beneficiary relation (referring to example (2) from this chapter).

However, it is very interesting to observe what happens when the imperative clause is used as indirect speech. Examples in (6) are paraphrasing the situation that occurred in (5). There is one way how to use indirect speech in Korean, it is to take the stem of verb, attach an Imperative suffix *-ra* and the Complementizer *go-hada*, meaning "he said that V..."<sup>17</sup>.

In (6a), we use the original verbal complex V-V and attach the Complementizer *-go*. Besides the indirect speech element, we are also adding an Indirect Object (Beneficiary) in order to refer to the correct receiver of this action of giving. As we can see in (6a), anaphoric pronoun *yae* 'he' refers to everybody else but *Jinsu*.

If we want to convey a meaning where 'Jinsu wanted someone to get water for Jinsu himself', we are not allowed to use expression *V-ju-rago + hada*, but instead we need to use different verbal complex - *V-dal-rago + hada*, as is demonstrated in (6b). In this case, anaphoric pronoun *yae* 'he' must refer to *Jinsu* himself.

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<sup>17</sup> Find out more on Korean Complementizers in Sells (1995, 295).

(7)

- a. *Jinsu-ga kkot-eul eomeoni-egye sa ju-ra-go*  
Jinsu-NOM flower-ACC mother-DAT buy give-IMP-COMP  
*hae-eoss-ta.*  
do-PAST  
'Jinsu told someone to get his mother flowers'
- b. *Jinsu-ga kkot -eul \*eomeoni-egye sa dal-rago*  
Jinsu-NOM flower-ACC. mother-DAT buy give-IMP-COMP  
*hae-eoss-ta.*  
do-PAST  
'Jinsu asked someone to get his mother flowers'

In order to support our argument that Korean Verbs of Giving signal some speaker-oriented limitations, another set of examples is shown in (7). In (7a), the speaker Jinsu told someone to buy flowers for the mother. In this case, V-V must consist of fully lexical verb *sada* 'buy' and verb of giving *juda* which can be only used in the examples when this is not for the benefit of the speaker. This is same situation as with Japanese *ageru*.

In (7b), Jinsu 'told someone to buy water for the mother' and this turns ungrammatical because indirect speech needs to be formed with *dar-rago*. Therefore, this clause turns as an ill-formed one.

In conclusion, Korean verb of giving *juda* itself does not seem to carry any speaker-oriented restrictions as we can observe among Japanese Verbs of Giving *ageru* and *kureru*. However, there are situations (familial talk imperative *V-dao*; indirect speech *V-ju-rago/V-dal-rago*) when *juda* has some restrictions based on the relationship between speaker and Beneficiary. Therefore, *juda* is more similar to Japanese *ageru* than *kureru*.

### 3.2.2 Verbs of Receiving

This section focuses on grammatical properties and the usage of Korean verb *batta*, meaning 'get' or 'receive'. *Batta* belongs to a group of Verbs of Receiving and it is

commonly used to form a Complex Verbal Benefactive Construction which stand for FOR-Dative benefactive structures.

(8)

- a. *Eunjin-i Surin-hantae seonmul-eul bat-ass-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT present-ACC get-PAST  
 'Eunjin got a present from Surin'
- b. *Eunjin-i Surin-hantae seonmul-eul sa bat-ass-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT present-ACC buy-L get-PAST  
 'Eunjin had Surin buy her a present'

Example (8a) demonstrate usage of verb *batta* 'receive' on its own, having both lexical meaning and also functioning as a syntactic head of the whole predicate. (8b) stands for *batta* used in Complex Verbal Benefactive Construction.

(9)

- a. *?Eunjin-i Surin-hantae bab-eul mandeul-e bat-ass-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT meal-ACC make-L get-PAST  
 'Eunjin had Surin make her meal'
- b. *\*Eunjin-i Surin-hantae soseol-eul ilk-e bat-ass-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT novel-ACC read-L get-PAST  
 'Eunjin had Surin read her a novel'

In (9), usage of *batta* in Complex Verbal Benefactive Construction turns either unnatural (9a) or totally unacceptable (9b). The question that we need to answer know is how examples in (9) differs from the example in (8b).

The reason why *batta* can be used in (8b) but not in examples in (9) is because *batta* usually refers to a transfer of an object of a physical or concrete form. Any transfers of an abstract entity would result in ungrammatical instances. This lack of grammaticalization in *batta* is also noticed by Shibatani (1994). According to his explanation, *batta* is still under the process of grammaticalization which at this point causes confusion between native speakers in examples like (9a). When we try to compare this semantic restriction of *batta* to its Japanese counterpart *morau*, we notice that *morau* is completely grammaticalized and it can be used with both

abstract and concrete entities. See Japanese counterparts of (9) in (10) below. All of them ending up as natural sentences.

(10) (Japanese)

- a. *Eunjin-ga Surin-ni gohan-wo tsukut-te morat-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT meal-ACC make-TE get-PAST  
 ‘Eunjin had Surin make her meal’
- a. *Eunjin-ga Surin-ni shosetsu-wo yon-de morat-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT novel-ACC read-TE get-PAST  
 ‘Eunjin had Surin read her a novel’

In conclusion, we identified semantic restriction of the usage of verb *batta* in FOR-Dative Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions. This would be the first and only difference between Korean and Japanese Verbs of Receiving.

### 3.2.3 Honorifics

In terms of honorifics in Korean Verbs of Giving, it tends to be rather simple, when compared to Japanese. There are two types for Korean Verbs of Giving and only one instance of Verbs of Receiving.

TABLE 9

(1) Verbs of Giving		Definition
a)	<i>juda</i>	someone gives something to a person <b>equal</b> (or <b>inferior</b> ) to him
b)	<i>deurida</i>	someone gives something to a person <b>superior</b> to him
(2) Verbs of Receiving		
a)	<i>batta</i>	someone receives something from a person <b>equal/inferior/superior</b> to him

(11)

- a. *Nae-ga yae-hantae chaek-e ilk-e ju-eoss-ta.*  
 I-NOM he-DAT book-ACC read-L give-PAST  
 ‘I read him a book.’
- b. *Nae-ga seonseongnim-egye chaek-e ilk-e deur-yeoss-ta.*

I-NOM            teacher-DAT            book-ACC    read-L give-PAST  
 'I read the teacher a book.'

There are two different Korean Verbs of Giving, depending on the relationship between Agent and Beneficiary. If the social ranking (or age) of Beneficiary is higher than the one of Agent, *deurida* will be used instead of *juda*. A very typical example is shown in (11b), where Agent 'I' read a book on behalf of a 'teacher'.

Korean "neutral" verb of giving *juda* signals some level of spatial deixis. More polite forms of verb of giving (e.g. *deurida*), carry not only spatial deictic function but also certain level of social deixis. For example, they tell us what the social status of Agent towards the Beneficiary is.

(12)

a. *Eunjin-i            Surin-egye            seonmul-eul sa    bat-ass-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT            present-ACC buy-L get-PAST  
 'Eunjin had Surin buy her a present'

b. *Eunjin-i            seonsaengnim-egye seonmul-eul sa    bat-ass-ta.*  
 Eunjin-NOM Surin-DAT            present-ACC buy-L get-PAST  
 'Eunjin had Surin buy her a present'

Regarding Korean Verb of Receiving *batta*, there seems to be no less or more polite variant and *batta* seems to be used in all possible scenarios. The only way how to express certain level of politeness is to use different honorific suffixes on V1. <sup>18</sup>

### 3.2.4 Triple Verbal Complexes

As mentioned earlier for Japanese, giving and receiving verbs can be used together to combine an action involving "complex status-favor relationships". In other words, clusters involving more than one verb of giving are possible. Let's test whether such clusters can be formed in Korean.

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<sup>18</sup> Insertion of honorific suffix *-si* will not be analyzed in this work as it does not deal with Benefactive Constructions anymore. The writer only wants to make a remark that Korean is also using other ways of how to use honorifics.

(13)

- a. *Jina-ga halmeoni-egye chaek-eul ilk-e deu-rye*  
Jina-NOM grandma-DAT book-ACC read-L give-L  
*ju-eosseo-yo.*  
give-PAST-HON  
'I gave Jina a favor to give favor of reading a book to the grandma'
- b. *Nae-ga Juhyeong-ege (butak haeseo) eomma-egye*  
I-NOM Juhyeong-DAT (asking) mum-DAT  
*jeonyeok-eul mandeul-e deur-ye ju-eoss-eoyo.*  
dinner-ACC make-L give-L give-PAST-HON  
'I had Juhyeong make a dinner for my mum'

V-V-V complexes consisting of two different Verbs of Giving, in (13), indicate similarities with Japanese structures in section 3.1.4. Similarly, as with Japanese, ditransitive Verbs of Giving satisfy their argument structure with autonomous Indirect Objects. For example, in (13a), Agent 1 *Jina* performs an act “giving and reading a book” on the behalf of Indirect Object (Beneficiary 1) ‘grandma’. At the same time, *Jina* has a role of Agent 2 of performing the act of “giving and reading a book for grandma’ on the behalf of ‘me’ (Subject and Beneficiary 2).

### 3.2.5 Intransitive V1

In the previous sections investigating transitivity restrictions on V1 in Japanese (3.1.5), we argued that intransitive V1 can be used to form Benefactive Constructions only if the Beneficiary (Indirect Object) is not overtly expressed. This section will extend this hypothesis to Korean Benefactive Constructions.

TABLE 10 TRANSITIVITY OF V1

lexical (V1)	verb of giving (V2)	example
transitive	transitive	<i>ilk-e ju-da</i> 'give read'
<b>intransitive</b>	transitive	<i>ka ju-da</i> 'give go'



Let's take this argument and FOR-Dative verbal complexes from **Table 10** into practice.

(14)

- a. *Ka ju-se yo!*  
 go-L give-IMP  
 'Go!'; literally 'Go (somewhere) on my behalf!'
- b. *Sijang-e ka ju-se yo!*  
 market-DIR go give-IMP  
 'Go to the market!'; literally 'Go to the market for me!'
- c. \**Na-hantae sijang-e ka ju-se yo!*  
 I-DAT market-DIR go give-IMP  
 'Go to the market for me!'

Same as with Japanese, the presence of Goal results in grammatical structures as can be observed in (14b). Verbal structures in (14) prove the theory of Shibatani, where the presence of Goal that supposedly sets a restriction on intransitive V1, wrong. It is not the presence of Goal but the presence of Beneficiary which decides whether an Intransitive verb can occur in V1 position in Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions (14c). In other words, argument structure of intransitive verbs fails to assign a theta role to an Indirect Object (Beneficiary).

### 3.2.6 Verbs of Giving and Receiving: Conclusion on Korean

In conclusion, **Table 11** summarizes different types of Korean Verbs of Giving. In total, there are three different verbs; two giving types (*juda*, *deurida*) and one receiving type (*batta*).

**TABLE 11**      **RELATION BETWEEN AGENT & BENEFICIARY (INDIRECT OBJECT)**

<b>English Meaning</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy</b>	<b>Social Hierarchy</b>
	Agent > Beneficiary	Agent = Beneficiary	Agent < Beneficiary
'give'	-	<i>juda</i>	<i>deurida</i>
'get/receive'	-	<i>batta</i>	-

When compared to Japanese Verbs of Giving that are used to construct FOR-Datives, Korean ones lack any pragmatic properties based on speaker and Beneficiary relationship. The only case when this condition affects correct usage of Verbs of Giving is with verb *juda* (familial talk imperative *V-dao*; indirect speech *V-ju-rago/V-dar-rago*). Horizontally, we can see different usage of verbs based on the relation between Agent and Beneficiary (Indirect Object).

Interestingly, same as with Japanese, one may notice that there are no specific 'less polite' variants of *batta* and *juda*. This is probably because both verbs express direction towards either speaker or Subject of such clauses. Both speaker and Subject would be receiving a benefit of a specific action from someone else and therefore at least some level of politeness or respect is expected.

## 4 On *V-te V* in Benefactive Constructions

### 4.1 *V-V* Complexes and their Syntactic Structure

In the previous chapters, we paid close attention to various types of Verbs of Giving which can be used together with other lexical verbs in order to form Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions. This chapter focuses on Japanese and offers an analysis of how the *V-te V* complex is formed together. In other words, we will look at the syntactic structure of *V-te V* complex and how this is used in order to form Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions.

### 4.2 Types of *V-te V* Complexes

Japanese is an agglutinative language with SOV structure. It allows different multi-verb constructions. It is assumed that each of them has its specific syntactic and semantic function. When we talk about Benefactive Constructions, as mentioned earlier in this work, V1 is combined with V2 in order to build a grammatically functioning verbal complex. In order to use V1 together with one of the “giving” verbs, such as *ageru*, *kureru* or *morau*, TE form must be used. No exception is allowed.

According to Matsumoto, *V-te V* form “connects two different clauses” and at the same time “marks a variety of meanings (e.g. successive, circumstantial, causal, contrastive).” Whereas the temporal succession is seen as being the most common case (2013). Some of the typical usages of *V-te V* structure might be found below.

(18) Gerundive function

*Okane-ga tari-naku-te, daigaku-e ika-nakat-ta.*  
money-NOM suffice-NEG-TE university-DIR go-NEG-PAST  
'Not having enough money, (he) could not go to university.'

(19) Temporal succession function

*Watashi-wa Praha-e it-te, kaimono-wo shi-ta.*  
 I-TOP Praha-DIR go-TE shopping-ACC do-PAST  
 'I went to Prague and did the shopping'

(20) Benefactive construction usage

*Kono hito-ga michi-wo osiete-te kure-ta.*  
 this person-NOM way-ACC teach-TE give-PAST  
 'This person taught me the way'

Examples above show various types of functions of *V-te V* verbal complexes. One can notice that TE form can have a gerundive function (17), temporal succession function (18), or Benefactive Construction usage (19).<sup>19</sup> Leaving semantics behind for a while, this section will investigate syntactic structure of TE form.

According to various linguists focusing on verbal structures in Japanese (Kageyama 2001, Matsumoto 2013), from a syntactic point of view, there are two types of *V-te V* complexes in Japanese. The terminology may vary, but in this thesis, we refer mostly to terminology from Matsumoto (2013) but prefer using labels “syntactic *V-te V*” and “lexical *V-te V*”.

**TABLE 12 V-V STRUCTURES - TERMINOLOGY**

	<b>Monoclausal</b> (Matsumoto) <b>Lexical</b> (Kageyama, Sefcovic)	<b>Biclausal</b> (Matsumoto) <b>Syntactic</b> (Kageyama, Sefcovic)
V-te Vcomplex	<i>mot-te iku</i> carry-TE go 'carry and go'	<i>yon-de morau</i> read-TE receive 'have (someone) read (something)'
V-V compounds	<i>nage-suteru</i> throw-abandon 'throw way'	<i>koroshi-kakeru</i> kill-be about to 'try to kill'

<sup>19</sup> The author of this paper wants to shortly mention that this is not an exhaustive list of possible usages of TE form. For more on this topic, take a look at Matsumoto (2013).

In the above table, notice that in Japanese, besides the *V-te V* complexes, we have also another V-V structure, usually referred to as V-V compounds. This type is closely analyzed in different studies (Kageyama 2001, Sefcovic 2015) and will not be subject of this paper, especially because Verbs of Giving never form V-V compounds.<sup>20</sup> However, one can notice that the pattern of having two structures (syntactic and lexical) applies to other verbal complexes in Japanese, as well.

According to **Table 12**, Verbs of Giving can only form syntactic *V-te V* complexes, i.e. there is no example of Verbs of Giving used in Monoclausal *V-te V* section. This chapter, providing multiple linguistic operations, demonstrates the fact that Verbs of Giving can appear in both lexical and syntactic *V-te V* complexes, whereas only the latter can be used to form Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions.

Furthermore, this chapter carries out multiple linguistic tests in order to distinguish **syntactic** type of TE from the **lexical** one. The section 4.2.1 demonstrates semantic differences; 4.2.2 take a look at the syntactic ones.

#### 4.2.1 Semantic Differences in *V-te V* Structures

This section takes a look at the differences between a) *V-te V* as a single interpreted event, part of Benefactive Construction; b) *V-te V* with conjunctive usage. The former to be called “True Benefactive Construction” or “Lexical *V-te V* Complex”, the later called as “Fake Benefactive Construction” or “Syntactic *V-te V* Complex”.

##### 4.2.1.1 Single Interpreted Event

Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions represent, without any exception, a single interpreted event.

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<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, in Korean, one single phonetic form “*V-e V*” is used to form Complex Verbal Benefactive Constructions and both syntactic and lexical Serial Verb Constructions (Sefcovic 2015). There is abundant space for further progress in analyzing “*V-e V*” with respect to its possible logical and phonetic form.

(1) Lexical *V-te V* complex (“True Benefactive Constructions”)

*Junko-ga Megumi-ni hon-wo yon-de age-ta.*  
Junko-NOM Megumi-DAT book-ACC read-TE do-PAST  
'Junko bought Megumi a book.'

In (1), one can see that a series of two verbs is used to express single activity of reading and giving and the same time. A single event is one of the crucial contrastive conditions that tells apart syntactic and lexical *V-te V* complexes. The sentence (1) needs be distinguished from the structure in (2).

(2) Syntactic *V-te V* complex (“Fake Benefactive Constructions”)

*Taro-ga Hanako-ni hon-wo kat-te yatta.* (Shibatani 1994, 40)  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC buy give-PAST  
'Taro bought (and gave) Hanako a book'

In the above example (2), Shibatani shows an example that seemingly represents an argument structure of the clauses from (1). However, a closer semantic and syntactic analysis proves his assumption wrong. Let's try to compare structure in (2) with structure in (1). In (1), we talk about true Benefactive Constructions, where Agent is performing one single activity on behalf of the Beneficiary. It is a single event of giving where Beneficiary benefits by the Agent reading the book on behalf of the Beneficiary herself. On the other side, in (2) we have a coordination structure (also called conjunctive structure by Kuno 1973, Matsumoto 2013, Nakatani 2013) of two separate events that happened one after another. In (2), *Taro* bought the book first and after that he gave it to *Hanako*. Verbs in (2) represent two independent actions and therefore their structure is different from (1). Even though the phonetic form of *V-te V* complex in (1) and (2) is same, their logical form is different and therefore we talk about two distinctive structures. The former one in (1) as lexical *V-te V* complex, the later in (2) as syntactic *V-te V* structure.

Shibatani seems to be omitting this difference in his article from 1994 as he uses both structures as if they were same. However, linguists like Matsumoto (2013), are

aware of this difference. “The complex predicate examples of *V-te V* must be carefully distinguished from similar biclausal sentences involving *-te* as a regular clause linkage marker” (Matsumoto 2013). Another way of how to distinguish structures in (1) and (2) is demonstrated below.

(3) (Matsumoto 2013, 5)

- a. *Kare-wa*      [*baggu-wo*    *te ni*            *mot-te*] *gakko-ni*    *it-ta*.  
 he-TOP        bag-ACC        hand-LOC      have-TE school-LOC go-PAST  
 ‘Holding the bag in his hand, he went somewhere’
- b. *Boku-wa*      [*hon-wo*        *yon-de*]            *kodomo-ni*    *age-ta*.  
 I-TOP            book-ACC        read-TE        child-DAT      give-PAST  
 ‘Having read a book, I gave it to the child’

Matsumoto adds “the *-te* form is widely used to connect two clauses, both in coordination and in subordination, making a variety of meanings in which the *-te* clause is related to the final, tensed clause... in subordination it marks meanings such as temporal succession, circumstantiality (simultaneity), and cause/reason...” (2013). Benefactive use of *V-te V* must be distinguished from this set of “subordinate/conjunctive usages”.

#### 4.2.1.2 Tense Sharing

In case of True Benefactive Constructions, *V-te V* complexes carry the same tense value.

(4) Lexical *V-te V* complex (“True Benefactive Constructions”)

- a. *Kino,*            *kare-ni*        *hon-wo*        *yon-de*        *age-ta*.  
 yesterday      he-DAT        book-ACC      read-TE        give-PAST  
 ‘Yesterday, I read him a book’
- b. *Kino,*            *hon-wo*        *yon-de,*        (\**ashita*      *kare-ni*) *age-ru*.  
 yesterday      book-ACC      read-TE        tomorrow      he-DAT give-FUT  
 ‘I read a book yesterday and I will give it to him tomorrow’

In (4a), V1 *yomu* ‘read’ and V2 *ageru* ‘give’ carry the same tense value. It is a single act of buying and giving which happened at the same time. If we try to divide these two actions so one happened earlier than the other, lexical *V-te V* will fail, and structure becomes ungrammatical (4b).

(5) Syntactic *V-te V* complex (“Fake Benefactive Constructions”)

- a. *Kino, kare-ni hon-wo kat-te age-ta.*  
 yesterday he-DAT book-ACC buy-TE give-PAST  
 ‘Yesterday, I bought and gave him a book’
- b. *Kino, hon-wo kat-te, (ashita kare-ni) age-ru.*  
 yesterday book-wo buy-TE tomorrow he-DAT give-FUT  
 ‘I bought a book yesterday, and I will give it to him tomorrow.’

However, if we apply exactly the same type of operation of inserting two completely different time elements for V1 and V2 in *V-te V* complexes, syntactic type will form such structures without any problems (5b). In other words, in (5) we deal with two verbal actions having two different tense values – past and the future one.

#### 4.2.2 Syntactic Operations within *V-te V* Complexes

##### 4.2.2.1 No External Element In-between

This section comments on the syntactic differences in *V-te V* complexes. No overt adverb or any other morpheme can be embedded between lexical *V-te V* complex.

(6)

- a. *Kino kare-ni hon-wo yon-de \*kara age-ta.*  
 yesterday he-DAT book-ACC read-TE. and then give-PAST  
 ‘I bought and then gave him a book.’
- b. *Kino kare-ni hon-wo kat-te kara age-ta.*  
 yesterday he-DAT book-ACC buy-TE and then give-PAST  
 ‘I bought and then gave him a book.’



In the above examples we see how the lexical item *kara* is inserted right between V1 and V2 in *V-te V* complex. The lexical morpheme *kara* can be freely translated into English as “and ” meaning that once the first action of V1 is finished, only and just after that the V2 action takes place.<sup>21</sup> One notices that in (6a), an insertion of *kara* morpheme turns out to be ungrammatical provided this disrupts the lexical integrity of *V-te V*.

On the other hand, a situation in (6b) contradicts with the case of (6a). *Kara* insertion shows up as completely acceptable, which once again supports the concept of lexical and syntactic *V-te V* verbal complexes.

#### 4.2.2.2 Insertion of Passivization Morpheme *-are*

Regarding passivization (another type of syntactic operation), we assume that it may be used in syntactic *V-te V* complexes, but lexical ones should be resistant to this type of syntactic operation.

#### (7) Syntactic *V-te V* complex (Fake Benefactive Constructions)

- a. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo kat-te morat-ta.*  
 I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC buy-TE get-PAST  
 ‘I had her buy me a meal’
- b. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo kaw-are-te morat-ta.*  
 I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC buy-HON-TE get-PAST  
 ‘I ‘I had her buy me a meal’ (honorific)<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *V-te kara V* construction is often used on public signs (e.g. *Basu ga tomatte kara seki o o tachi kudasai*. This would be translated as ‘Please leave your seat after the bus stops’).

<sup>22</sup> The passivization morpheme *-(r)are* can be embedded into a verb while having a pure honorific meaning. In this case, no syntactic operation takes place except for the insertion of morpheme *-are* on the verb.

(8) Lexical *V-te V* complex (True Benefactive Constructions)

- a. *Junko-ga Megumi-ni hon-wo yon-de morat-ta.*  
Junko-NOM Megumi-DAT book-ACC read-TE get-PAST  
'Junko had Megumi read her a book.'
- b. *Junko-ga Megumi-ni hon-wo \*yom-are-te morat-ta.*  
Junko-NOM Megumi-DAT book-ACC read-PASS-TE get-PAST  
'Junko had Megumi buy her a book.'

Syntactic type of *V-te V* complex in (7b) allows insertion of passive morpheme *-are*. However, lexical *V-te V* complex does not allow such semantic operation to take place. Violating this rule results in ungrammatical sentence in (8b).

#### 4.2.2.3 Negation and Progressive Aspect

This section deals with other syntactic operations and supports the fact that Verbs of Giving may be used to form both Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions (lexical *V-te V* complexes) and also biclausal *V-te V* structures (syntactic type).

(9) Lexical *V-te V* complex ("True Benefactive Constructions")

- a. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo ogot-te morat-ta.*  
I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC treat-TE get-PAST  
'I had her treat me to a meal'
- b. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo \*ogora-nai-de morat-ta.*  
I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC treat-NEG-TE get-PAST  
'I did not have her treat me to a meal'
- c. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo \*ogot-te i-te morat-ta.*  
I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC treat-PROG be-TE get-PAST  
'I had her keep treating me to a meal'

(10) Syntactic *V-te V* complex ("False Benefactive Constructions")

- a. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo kat-te morat-ta.*  
I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC buy-TE get-PAST

'I had her buy me a meal'

- b. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo kawa-nai-de morat-ta.*  
I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC buy-NEG-TE get-PAST  
'I did not have her buy me a meal'

- c. *Watashi-ga kanojo-ni gohan-wo kat-te i-te morat-ta.*  
I-NOM she-DAT meal-ACC buy-PROG be-TE get-PAST  
'I had her keep buying me a meal'

Syntactic operations like negation and progressive aspect, can be applied to syntactic *V-te V* complexes. Negation element insertion on V1 takes place in (10b) and results in grammatical structure. The same type of operation failed to form grammatical instances in the case of lexical *V-te V* complex in (9b).

The same situation happens with progressive aspect. In (10c), a progressive aspect appears on V1 which generates a grammatically acceptable sentence. However, the same type of linguistic operation generates ungrammatical occurrence in (9c).

#### 4.2.2.4 Proform Operation

Another syntactic operation is a proform or a substitution by using *so suru*. Proform, as a syntactic test is used very often to test lexical integrity. The Japanese way of substitution of verbs, proform *so suru*, is very similar to English and its "do so" replacement.

(11) Lexical *V-te V* complex ("True Benefactive Constructions")

- a. *Watashi-ga kare-no inochi-wo tasuke-te yat-ta.*  
I-NOM he-POSS life-ACC save-TE give-PAST  
'I saved his life'

- b. *Watashi-ga kare-no inochi-wo \*so shi-te yat-ta.*  
I-NOM his life-ACC do so-TE give-PAST  
'I saved his life'

(12) “Syntactic *V-te V* complex (“Fake Benefactive Constructions”)

- a. *Watashi-ga kare-ni keikaku-wo tate-te yat-ta.*  
 I-NOM he-DAT plan-ACC build-TE give-PAST  
 ‘I made plans for him’
- b. *Watashi-ga kare-ni keikaku-wo so shi-te yat-ta.*  
 I-NOM he-DAT plan-ACC do so-TE give-PAST  
 ‘I made plans for him’

Proform operation on V1 is only acceptable when we talk about two separate actions as in (11b). This turns ungrammatical for lexical *V-te V* complex.

#### 4.2.2.5 Lexical Integrity Test

This test was performed and demonstrated by Matsumoto (2013). According to him, “-te complexes allow a particle to be inserted between V1 and V2.” Consider the example below.

(13) Lexical *V-te V* complex (“True Benefactive Constructions”)

- a. *baggu-wo koko-ni mot-te-wa ki-ta.* (Matsumoto 2013)  
 bag-ACC here-DIR have-TE-FOC come-PAST  
 ‘(I) did bring a bag here’
- b. \**baggu-wo hirai-te-wa age-ta.*  
 bag-ACC open-TE-FOC give-PAST  
 ‘(I) did open the bag’

Matsumoto is saying that *V-te V* complex allows insertion of the particle (13a). However, this does not work for case of *V-te V* in lexical type of Benefactive Construction such as the one in (13b).

### 4.3 Two Types of *V-te V* Complexes: Summary

**Table 13** Lexical & Syntactic *V-te V* Complexes summarizes the crucial differences between lexical and syntactic type of *V-te V* constructions. Furthermore, it also

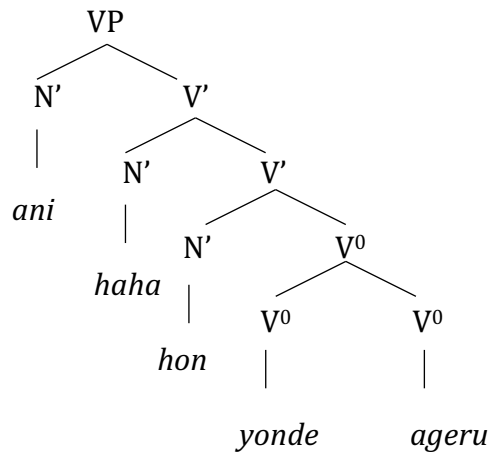
supports the theory that Verbs of Giving can be used to form both of these structures. However, only one of them is considered to be “true” Complex Verbal Benefactive Construction and can be also referred to as PRO-Dative construction. The syntactic one represents a case of biclausal sentence.

**TABLE 13 LEXICAL & SYNTACTIC V-TE V COMPLEXES**

	<b>Lexical V-<i>te</i> V Complex (True Benefactive Constructions)</b>	<b>Syntactic V-<i>te</i> V Complex (Fake Benefactive Constructions)</b>
<b>Example</b>	<i>yon-de ageru</i> 'read give'	<i>kat-te ageru</i> 'buy give'
<b>Single Interpreted Event</b>	yes	no
<b>Tense Sharing</b>	yes	no
<b>External Element in-between</b>	*- <i>te kara</i> no	- <i>te kara</i> yes
<b>Insertion of Honorific Morpheme -<i>are</i></b>	* <i>yom-are-te ageru</i> no	<i>kawa-are-te ageru</i> yes
<b>Progressive Aspect on V1</b>	* <i>yon-de i-te morau</i> no	<i>kat-te i-te morau</i> yes
<b>Negation on V1</b>	* <i>yoma-nai-de morau</i> no	<i>kawa-nai-de morau</i> yes
<b>Proform operation <i>so suru</i></b>	ungrammatical	grammatical
<b>Lexical integrity test</b>	ungrammatical	grammatical

The lexical V-*te* V used together with Verbs of Giving forms a grammatical Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions. The node tree structure of such verbal complex can be found below.

(14) Lexical *V-te V* complex (“True Benefactive Constructions”)



- (15) *Ani-ga*                      *haha-ni*              *hon-wo*              *yon-de*              *age-ru.*  
 Brother-NOM              mum-DAT              book-ACC              read-TE              give-PRES  
 ‘The brother reads (his) mum a book’

The tree node in (14) demonstrates a structure of Lexical *V-te V* complexes that represents FOR-Dative constructions in Japanese.  $V^0$  represents the smallest unit in (surface) syntax. This structure must be distinguished from syntactic type of *V-te V* verbal complexes.

This study set out to determine that Japanese Verbs of Giving can be used to form Benefactive Constructions having a structure of lexical *V-te V* complex. A further study with more focus on this phenomenon should be done to investigate the logical form of Korean V-V constructions. Such analysis could provide an interesting insight into the structures in the respective language and possibly on the Benefactive Constructions in general. If our assumption that Korean V-V structures correlate with Japanese ones, the following chart will come to existence.

**TABLE 14 JAPANESE AND KOREAN V-V BENEFACTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS**

	<b>JAPANESE Syntactic V-te V Complex (Fake Benefactive Constructions)</b>	<b>KOREAN Syntactic V-V Complex (Fake Benefactive Constructions)</b>	<b>JAPANESE Lexical V-te V Complex (True CVBC) FOR-Datives</b>	<b>KOREAN Lexical V V Complex (True CVBC) FOR-Datives</b>
<b>Example</b>	<i>kat-te ageru</i> 'buy give'	<i>sa juda</i> 'buy give'	<i>yon-de ageru</i> 'read give'	<i>ilk-e juda</i> 'read give'
<b>Single Interpreted Event</b>	no	no	yes	yes
<b>Tense Sharing</b>	no	no	yes	yes
<b>External Element in-between possible</b>	<i>-te kara</i> yes	<i>-e-se</i> yes	<i>*-te kara</i> no	<i>*-e-so</i> no
<b>Insertion of Honorific Morpheme possible</b>	<i>kawa-are-te ageru</i> yes	<i>sa-si-e juda</i> yes	<i>*yom-are-te ageru</i> no	<i>*ilkeu-si-e juda</i> yes
<b>Progressive Aspect on V1 possible</b>	<i>kat-te i-te morau</i> yes	<i>sa-go iss-e juda</i> yes	<i>*yon-de i-te morau</i> no	<i>*il-go iss-e juda</i> no
<b>Negation on V1 possible</b>	<i>kawa-nai-de morau</i> yes	<i>sa-ji mal-go juda</i> yes	<i>*yoma-nai-de morau</i> no	<i>*il-ji mal-go juda</i> no
<b>Proform operation possible</b>	yes	yes	no	no

**Table 14** provides a significant positive correlation between Japanese and Korean CVBCs. Both structures can be formed to create syntactic or lexical V-V complexes. Due to limitation of space, we cannot reproduce every single linguistic test from section 4.2 also here in Korean. **Table 14** provides a short summary on how Korean verbal complexes undergo various syntactic and lexical operations, which were

earlier discussed in closer detail in Japanese. Our assumptions are that these results are identical.



## 5 Summary

The objective of this paper was to give a detailed analysis of the Benefactive Constructions. All of the objectives proposed in the Introduction section have been successfully met.

Chapter 2 firstly analyzed the previous studies on head-initial languages and types of double object constructions that can carry a benefactive meaning. Secondly it took a look at head-final languages like Japanese and Korean and the way they construct so called “TO-Dative” and “FOR-Dative” Benefactive Constructions found in head-initial languages. This type of **cross-linguistic comparison** of **Benefactive Constructions**, proposes a unifying theory and divides these structures into two types:

- I. **TO-Datives** or **Single Verb Benefactive Constructions** (SVBC)
- II. **FOR-Datives** or **Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions** (CVBC)

According to this theory, the TO-Dative structures found in English and other head-initial languages can be also found among Japanese and Korean (Single Verb Benefactive Constructions). On the other hand, the syntax of FOR-Dative structures in English and other head-initial languages cannot be reproduced in Japanese and Korean by single verb predicates. In order to express meanings of FOR-Dative Benefactive structures, these head-final languages make use of the Complex Verb Benefactive Constructions.

Chapter 3 pays a closer attention to **Japanese** and **Korean** and types of **Verbs of Giving and Receiving**. Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties were first demonstrated on Japanese. The same concept was later applied to Korean, while an emphasis was put on both linguistics similarities and differences between these two languages. In general, Japanese Verbs of Giving seem to be more dependent on a speaker (Benefactor) and Indirect Object (Beneficiary) relationship.

The last section of this work, Chapter 4, offers a formal approach towards demystification of **“true” and “false” Benefactive Constructions**. The former one originating from monoclausal structures (**lexical type**); the later one coming from biclausal structures (**syntactic type**). Differences between these two structures are demonstrated on multiple linguistic operations performed on Japanese examples. Regarding Korean structures, a common ground for the future research was set.

In general, discussion regarding Benefactive Constructions offers a number of interesting cross linguistic prospects for further analysis. These examinations bring significant suggestions and findings necessary in order to develop a unified syntactic theory. Having demonstrated these structures on Japanese and Korean, a space for further progress in investigating this phenomenon on other languages is yet to be undertaken.

## 6 České resumé

Cílem této práce bylo provést detailní analýzu sloves dávání v takzvaných benefaktivních konstrukcích. Všechny cíle navržené v úvodní části této práce byly úspěšně splněny.

Druhá kapitola nejprve analyzuje použití sloves dávání mezi různými jazyky. Následuje hloubková analýza benefaktivních konstrukcí a jim odpovídajících sémantických rolí. Mezi-lingvistická analýza benefaktivních konstrukcí člení tyto konstrukce na dva typy:

- TO-dativy nebo jedno slovesné benefaktivní konstrukce
- FOR-dativy nebo komplexní slovesné benefaktivní konstrukce

Podle této teorie mohou být TO-Dative struktury nalezené v angličtině a dalších „head-initial“ jazycích nalezeny také v japonských a korejských strukturách (označovány jako jedno slovesné benefaktivní konstrukce). Na druhé straně, syntax FOR-Dative struktur v angličtině a jiných „head-initial“ jazycích nemohou být reprodukovány v japonštině a korejštině jedno slovesným predikátem. Aby se správně vyjádřily významy těchto FOR-Dative benefaktivních konstrukcí, využívají tyto jazyky komplexní slovesné benefaktivní konstrukce.

V třetí kapitole práce věnuje pozornost japonštině a korejštině a konstrukci sloves dávání a přijímání v těchto jazycích. Syntaktické, sémantické a pragmatické charakteristiky byly nejdříve demonstrovány na japonštině. Stejný koncept byl následně aplikován i na korejštině. Důraz byl kladen jak na lingvistické podobnosti, tak na rozdíly mezi těmito dvěma jazyky. Všeobecně se japonská slovesa dávání zdají býti více závislé na vztahu mezi mluvčím a nepřímým předmětem.

Čtvrtá kapitola, jež je poslední částí této práce, nabízí formální přístup k demystifikaci „pravých“ a „falešných“ benefaktivních konstrukcí. Právě benefaktivní konstrukce pocházejí z monoklazálních struktur (lexikální typ); ty falešné z biklazálních struktur (syntaktický typ). Rozdíly mezi těmito dvěma

strukturami jsou demonstrovány několika lingvistickými operacemi prováděných na japonských příkladech. Pokud jde o korejštinu, byl vytvořen základ umožňující budoucí výzkum v této oblasti.

Obecně lze říci, že diskuse o slovesech dávání a komplexních slovesných benefaktivních konstrukcích nabízí řadu zajímavých mezi-lingvistických možností pro další výzkum. Tato zkoumání přinášejí významné podněty a poznatky nezbytné pro rozvoj syntaxu, zejména pokud jde o tematické role těchto konstrukcí. Poté, co byly tyto struktury analyzovány na příkladech v japonštině a korejštině, se nabízí prostor pro další zkoumání tohoto fenoménu i v jiných jazycích.

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